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JUDGE JAMES HAWKINS PECK¹

BY CHARLES B. DAVIS

The life of James Hawkins Peck was closely linked with that of David Barton. While there is no direct evidence of the fact, there is much to indicate that they were acquainted in boyhood. Both of their fathers were soldiers in the Revolutionary war; both participated in the battle of King's Mountain; and both settled, after the war, in the same section of Eastern Tennessee.²

David Barton having equipped himself for the bar, came to St. Louis in 1812. Within a few years following, he was joined by two brothers, Joshua and Isaac Barton. They, too, had prepared themselves for the practice of the law and were generally familiar with the common law as administered in Tennessee. When the Bartons arrived in St. Louis, they found that the civil law prevailed in the Missouri Territory. Consequently, they actively sought to have the common law adopted by the Territorial Legislature. This was done in

¹This address was prepared and delivered by Judge Davis, following the presentation of the portrait of Judge Peck to the U. S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, at St. Louis on April 30, 1932. The portrait was presented to the Court by Hon. John S. Leahy on behalf of the Bar Association of St. Louis. Judge Charles B. Faris accepted the portrait on behalf of the Court.

²Adam Peck was born in 1753 in Frederick County, Maryland. He was married to Elizabeth Sharkey in Botetourt County, Virginia, in 1777, removed with his family to Tennessee in 1788, and became the first settler on Mossy Creek, in Jefferson County. (*History of Jefferson County, Tennessee*, 1858; White, *The King's Mountain Men*.) Adam Peck was a member of the Legislature of Tennessee in 1796-1798. He was appointed justice of the peace of Jefferson County by Gov. John Sevier in 1796. (Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*.)

Jacob Peck, the eldest child of this union, was born in Virginia in 1779. He was admitted to the bar in 1808, was state senator from Jefferson County in 1821, and from 1822 to 1834 was judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. (Memorial to Judge Jacob Peck in Coldwell, *Tenn. Reports*, Vol. 6, p. 658.)

James Hawkins Peck was one of the twelve children of Adam and Elizabeth Peck. He was born in Jefferson County, Tennessee, about 1790. The narratives of the early days in Missouri throw no light upon the family of Judge Peck. But his lineage is well known among the descendants of Adam Peck in Tennessee, and is clearly established by the historical records of that state. "Hawkins, another son of Adam Peck, was a Judge in Missouri, where he died." (*History of Jefferson County, Tennessee*, 1858.) "He (Jacob Peck) was a brother of Judge Peck of Missouri." (*Green Bag*, Vol. 5, p. 124, March, 1893.)

1816, and David Barton contributed more to bring about that result than any other one individual. He became judge of the first common law court established west of the Mississippi river. But within a few years, the court having commenced to properly function, he resigned his position on the bench and returned to the private practice of the law.

James H. Peck prepared himself in Tennessee to enter the legal profession. He seems to have practiced law for a time in that State. In August, 1817, an announcement appeared in a newspaper published in St. Louis, to the effect that "James H. Peck, from Tennessee, will practice in the several courts".³ This announcement appeared prior to his coming to St. Louis, because he did not take up his residence in Missouri until 1818.⁴

Judge Peck rapidly advanced in his profession, and by 1820 had been retained as counsel in several cases of importance. One of these law suits, fraught with particular significance to him, was an action in which Richard M. Johnson and associates of Kentucky, were parties.⁵ The Johnsons were interested in river transportation, and had a contract for delivering supplies at Council Bluffs, Iowa. Some of their boats were attached by a St. Louis bank, and this litigation developed into one of the most important legal proceedings of the time. Judge Peck was employed to represent the Johnson interests. The case remained in the courts for several years, and in the meantime, Congress in 1822 created the United States District Court of Missouri.⁶

Richard M. Johnson was at that time a member of the House of Representatives from Kentucky. Later he became senator from Kentucky, and under the administration of Martin Van Buren, he was vice-president of the United States. At the time of the creation of the new court, he was a man of great prestige in Washington, and he recommended James Hawkins Peck as judge of the new court.

³*Billon Annals of St. Louis, 1804-1821*, p. 142.

⁴*Billon, Annals of St. Louis, 1804-1821*, p. 163.

⁵*Darby, Personal Recollections*, p. 168.

⁶*Act of Congress, March 16, 1822.*

In the meantime the relations between Judge Peck and David Barton were most cordial and intimate. They boarded together in 1820,⁷ and had their law offices in the same building.⁸ Barton had greatly extended his acquaintance and influence. When the Constitutional Convention convened in 1820, Barton was selected as its presiding officer. He drafted the Constitution which was adopted by the Convention,⁹ and to this day it is known as the Barton Constitution. This Constitution remained in force until after the Civil war, and is still the basis of the fundamental law of the State. When the Legislature convened under the Constitution to select two members of the United States Senate, Barton was unanimously elected by that body.¹⁰ This was an occurrence that has been duplicated few, if at any other time, in the history of our country. Not only was Barton unanimously selected, but he was permitted to name his colleague. He chose Thomas H. Benton, and the Legislature, with some reluctance, proceeded to elect him.¹¹

The standing and influence of Barton was such that his endorsement, added to that of Richard M. Johnson, resulted

⁷"I came over to St. Louis on the 10th of August, 1820, and took lodgings at the boarding-house of Mr. Pitzer, on Third street, a little south of Market street, and began to explore the village as it then was, until near sundown, when we took tea and had an opportunity of seeing the guests of the house.

"Three distinguished personages were at the table, who were all waiting to enter on the duties of the offices they each afterwards held, and the admission of Missouri into the Union was the whole theme of their conversation at table. The first was Judge David Barton, afterwards United States Senator from Missouri; the second was Judge Peck, United States Judge for the District of Missouri; the third was Judge Alexander Stewart, afterwards Circuit Judge of the St. Louis district, which included other counties."—*Autobiography of Elihu H. Shepard*.

⁸"Judge Matthias M'Girk was born in Tennessee about the year 1790. He studied his law there, and came to St. Louis when but a young man, in about the year 1814. . . . In 1817 he put up a small one-story brick building for his office, fronting on Fourth street, which was afterwards occupied by David Barton and Judge Jas. H. Peck."—Billon, *Annals of St. Louis, 1804-1821*, p. 277.

⁹The Constitution of 1820 was largely the work of Barton, Bates, John Cook, Findlay and Scott. For an account of the authorship of the Missouri Constitution of 1820, see Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, pp. 193-211.—*Editor's Note*.

¹⁰For accounts of the election of Barton and Benton, see Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, pp. 271-274; and Squires, "A New View of the Election of Barton and Benton to the United States Senate in 1820," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 3 ff.—*Editor's Note*.

¹¹Darby, *Personal Recollections*, p. 29.

in the appointment, by President Monroe, of James H. Peck as the first judge of the United States District Court of Missouri.

The Court was organized in April, 1822. The following were the first officers of this court: James Hawkins Peck, judge; Isaac Barton, clerk; Joshua Barton, United States attorney; Henry Dodge, United States marshal. The influence of David Barton is thus clearly seen in the organization of the court.

Each of the officers of this court had a unique career. James H. Peck was for fourteen years, and until his death, in 1836, the judge of the Court, during which time he was impeached by the House of Representatives, tried and acquitted by the United States Senate.

Isaac Barton was clerk of the Court throughout the term of Judge Peck, and for many years thereafter under Judge Robert Wells. Barton discharged his duties as clerk in an exemplary manner, to the complete satisfaction of the bar of the State.

The next year after Joshua Barton became United States attorney, he was killed in a duel with Thomas Rector on Bloody Island. As a result, the State was thrown into the deepest gloom, so great was the popularity of the Bartons at that time.

Henry Dodge, the United States marshal in Judge Peck's court, found his duties less active than he desired, so he resigned and went into the army where he served in the Indian wars. Mr. Dodge located in Wisconsin, and twice became governor of the territory. When statehood came, he was elected United States senator from Wisconsin. He was joined in Washington by his son, Augustus C. Dodge, who had been elected United States senator from Iowa. Lewis F. Linn, a half-brother of Henry Dodge, was for many years United States senator from Missouri. As indicating that no one of these three men was senator by mere accident, it may be recalled that both Henry Dodge and Augustus C. Dodge were re-elected to the Upper House, and Doctor Linn, com-

monly spoken of as the "model Senator," was twice elected from Missouri.¹²

These were the men who organized the District Court in Missouri. The first sessions of the Court were held in the old French house at the southwest corner of Second and Walnut streets, in St. Louis.¹³ In the course of a year or two, the Court moved its quarters to the Baptist Meeting House at Third and Walnut streets. The sessions of the Court were held there for a short time, and then the Court moved into the house of Clement B. Penrose, on Third street near Walnut street. The act creating the Court provided that its sessions should be held at the State capital when permanently established. This was done in 1826, and about that time the Court moved to Jefferson City. Then for a period of thirty years, and until 1857, when Missouri was divided into two districts, there were no sessions of the District Court held in St. Louis. Judge Peck continued his residence here, and made the trips back and forth to Jefferson City on horseback.

Before the Court moved from St. Louis, and while it was holding its sessions in the Penrose house, the case out of which the impeachment proceedings grew, was tried. The Louisiana territory had been successively owned by Spain, France, and the United States. It has been said that the flags of three sovereigns floated over Upper Louisiana on the same day. It is literally true that within twenty-four hours three sovereigns were in possession of the territory. On March 9, 1804, Spain formally delivered the territory to France, and on the next day France relinquished its control to the United States. There were countless individuals who had land grants that were made during the Spanish and French occupancy. It is said that the title to nineteen-twentieths of the land in Missouri was in dispute.

Congress in 1824 placed upon the District Court the burden of passing upon the validity of these various grants of land.¹⁴ At that time no policy was declared as applicable in

¹²"Nancy Ann Hunter, Ancestor of Three Senators," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 26, No. 2, January, 1932, p. 179.

¹³Billon, *Annals of St. Louis, 1804-1821*, p. 299

¹⁴*Act of Congress*, May 26, 1824.

the consideration of the numerous land claims. Subsequently there were acts passed which provided in effect that the usages and customs of the Spanish land office should be adopted, and all grants, which would have been confirmed by the Spanish authorities, should be regarded as valid. It was still further enacted by Congress that where a claimant in possession of, and cultivating land, was unable to maintain his title, he should be given the privilege of purchasing the land at the lowest minimum charge then exacted by the government for public lands. These subsequent statutes did much to relieve the anxiety of the land claimants, but neither of them was in effect when Judge Peck took up the task of considering the cases.

The first case tried was that of Antoine Soulard against the United States. It was heard in 1825, and Judge Peck rendered an oral opinion in December of that year in which he found in favor of the government and against the claimant. Luke E. Lawless represented the claimant in that proceeding. Members of the bar interested in the numerous pending land claims requested Judge Peck to publish the opinion that he had rendered in the Soulard case. In response to that request, Judge Peck did write his opinion and it was published in the *Missouri Republican*, in the spring of 1826. Shortly thereafter Mr. Lawless wrote an article signed "A Citizen" and published it in another newspaper, the *Missouri Advocate and St. Louis Enquirer*. This article was a comment on Judge Peck's opinion, and it pointed out and named numerous instances in which it was said that the Court had fallen into error.

At the next session of the Court, Judge Peck cited the editor of the paper, but upon it being ascertained that Mr. Lawless had written the article, the citation was dissolved as to the editor, and a proceeding for contempt against Mr. Lawless was instituted. The law of the case was argued for two days, and at the close of the argument Judge Peck delivered his oral opinion.

Judge Peck suffered from a severe affliction of his eyes.¹⁵ He is known to have resorted to all the medical advice available in St. Louis and to have made a trip to Philadelphia in

¹⁵"St. Louis, September 4, 1825.

Dear Brother:

From all the experiments which I have made, I am satisfied that my disease is not of the inflammatory kind although accompanied by inflammation; that the inflammation which appears upon the eye is but a consequence of debility in that organ and incapability to endure a light or labor.

Either of these therefore instantly produces inflammation. I believe my vision is as perfect and acute as it ever was. The evidence upon which this opinion is founded, is that neither the ulcer which I had on my neck, the bleeding which I underwent, the leeching which I have also suffered, nor even the still more powerful local depletion occasioned by the cauterizing mentioned in my former letter, were of any service in removing the inflammation, nor of any avail as an antidote against it.

The inflammation even now is generally very slight; there is little more of the appearance of redness in my eyes than in those of other men so long as I am enabled to guard them against the influence of light, but so great is this irritability that they are affected and inflamed by the slightest degree of light.

Since my return I have bathed them much in brandy and water. I have supposed my eyes derive some benefit from this. I have likewise applied to them as an eye water a solution of opium. From these two last applications I have derived no benefit.

I have likewise used as a wash, vinegar and water, but am unable to decide whether this is beneficial.

I am now taking sulphur. I bathe my eyes in warm water. This I did during all last winter. I am satisfied that cold water is injurious.

All these experiments have I made and am now of opinion that Nature herself would have done as much for me as all of these. My eyes are not a whit better than when I returned from Philadelphia.

My general health is good. Touching my misfortune I know not what to do. My physicians know not what to do, nor will I henceforth permit them to do anything which can be injurious.

Whatever may be the disputations of Providence in relation to my present misfortune, I hope to be able to sustain myself with dignity.

My love to you all.

God bless you,

JAMES H. PECK."

Hon. Jacob Peck,

New Market, E. Tennessee.

(Copy of original letter received from Miss Grace Bayless.)

Judge Peck's eye affliction continued throughout the time that he was on the bench, as is shown by these incidents. After the impeachment was voted by the House of Representatives, Judge Peck, in April, 1830, wrote the Vice-President in which he requested that in the arrangement of the Senate chamber preparatory to his impeachment trial, a seat might be assigned him by which he might avoid facing the windows, on account of the weak state of his eyes.

In 1835, Mr. Truman M. Post visited Judge Peck and wrote the following memorandum in his diary:

"I set out for the east; visited St. Louis; called to see Judge Peck of the United States District Court; conspicuous in the judicial history of the time; had become nearly blind from disease of the eyes, and consulted him in regard to the treatment he had adopted and the result. I learned nothing satisfactory. I only wondered he had any eyes left."

an effort to get relief. The condition did not yield to treatment, and at times Judge Peck was obliged to protect his eyes from the light which caused great irritation. The means he resorted to were the use of goggles, and in some instances he placed a bandage over his eyes. During the hearing of the contempt charge he was suffering from this affliction, and his temporary blindness rendered it impossible for him to read. He had Edward Bates, who was then United States attorney, read the article, paragraph by paragraph, and the Court commented on the article as read. The Judge delivered his opinion with some feeling, and frequently used the words "false," "slander," and "misrepresentation." The Court, at the conclusion of the delivery of the opinion, caused Mr. Lawless, who was not then present, to be brought before the Court. Judge Peck offered to submit interrogatories, by which Mr. Lawless might have disavowed the purpose and intention of committing a contempt, and the matter in all probability would have then been closed. Mr. Lawless, however, informed the Court that he did not desire to have interrogatories submitted, and if they were submitted, that he would refuse to answer them. Thereupon the Court entered its judgment, finding Mr. Lawless guilty of contempt, and assessing his punishment at twenty-four hours in jail, and suspension from practice in the Court for a period of eighteen months. Mr. Lawless was taken to jail where he drafted a petition for a writ of habeas corpus, on the ground that the commitment under which he was held in jail did not have attached the seal of the Court. This petition for the writ was presented to a judge of the circuit court in St. Louis, and the petitioner was discharged from jail. The suspension from practice was enforced.

Mr. Lawless,¹⁶ in September, 1826, prepared a memorial in which was set out in detail the facts relating to the con-

¹⁶The character and disposition of Luke E. Lawless will, to some extent, explain his attack on Judge Peck.

"A lawyer of widespread fame was Judge Luke E. Lawless, born in Dublin in 1781. His life was checkered and romantic. At an early age he entered the British Navy, serving there till after the treaty of Amiens. Afterwards he graduated at the Dublin University, was admitted to the bar in 1805, and seemed likely to win high standing. In 1810 he entered the French service

under his uncle, Gen. William Lawless, acted as military secretary for the Duc de Feltre, and was promoted to a colonelcy. Napoleon's final defeat caused him to seek America, scarred with honorable wounds, and in 1816 he settled in St. Louis, where he soon built up a large practice which he enjoyed till his death in 1846. For three years he was Judge of the St. Louis Circuit Court, following Judge W. C. Carr. Judge Lawless was slender, dignified, and always interesting, thoroughly versed in his profession, supreme in his judicial analysis, never eloquent, but terrible in his pungent sarcasm. Taking part in a duel in France, he was rendered lame; he also acted as Benton's second in the Lucas duel. His wife was a French lady."—Scharf, *History of St. Louis*, Vol. II, p. 1474.

Resolution adopted by Members of the St. Louis Bar in 1837, Henry S. Geyer presiding: "Whereas, it is feared that the executive of the State will nominate to the Senate Luke E. Lawless, Esq., the present judge of the third judicial circuit, composed of the counties of St. Louis and St. Charles, to be judge of said circuit, unless existing valid objections be communicated, and we, members of the bar of St. Louis, believing that valid objections do exist, see proper, and deem it our duty, to express the same, and do hereby declare our full belief in the truth of the following allegations:

1. That the said Luke E. Lawless, Esq., is too much under the influence of impulse and first impressions, to give to each case submitted to his judgment a deliberate consideration.
2. That he is too passionate and impatient while on the bench, to admit a calm and full examination of cases.
3. That on the trial of issues of fact before juries, his mind receives an early bias, plainly perceivable by the jury, to the prejudice of parties.
4. That he invades the rights of juries, by assuming the decision of questions of fact exclusively within their province.
5. That his impatience and arbitrariness lead him to interrupt counsel unnecessarily, and frequently to preclude argument.
6. That he is wanting in punctuality in attending to the duties of the office.
7. That he is imperious, overbearing, and disrespectful in his manner to the members of the bar.
8. That he is indifferent to the faithful recording of the acts of the court wherein he is Judge.

Believing the above allegations to be well founded, therefore,

Resolved, That it is our full conviction that Luke E. Lawless, Esq., is unfit, by the constitution of his mind, by the intemperance of his feelings, by his impatience in the discharge of official duties, by his invasion of the province of juries, by his want of official punctuality, by his deportment to the members of the bar, and by his indifference to a careful record of the acts of the court wherein he sits, to hold the office of judge of the third judicial circuit of this state."—Edwards, *The Great West*, p. 360.

Between the time of the filing of the memorial and the impeachment, Mr. Lawless wrote and published in a St. Louis newspaper two other articles concerning Judge Peck. In one of these publications he complained that the judge had in a published opinion characterized the testimony of a witness as false, and he suggested an action to determine whether a judge can in this manner slander a citizen with impunity. In the other newspaper article Mr. Lawless stated that Lord Mansfield resigned his position on the bench because of poor eyesight, and asserted that a proper regard for public interest should induce Judge Peck to do the same thing.

Lawless "may be truly said to have watched and waylaid and beset the official path of Judge Peck, and to have sprung upon him whenever he thought he could strike an effective blow, either at his peace or reputation." —Wm. Wirt before the Court of Impeachment.

tempt proceedings. This memorial was, at the next session of Congress, in December, 1826, presented to the House of Representatives by John Scott, who, at that time, represented the State of Missouri in that body. The memorial was referred to the Judiciary committee, and in due course this committee made a report in which it was recommended that the memorialist be granted leave to withdraw the complaint. Mr. Lawless did not withdraw his memorial. When Congress convened in December, 1827, and again at the session of 1828, the memorial was presented, not by the representative from Missouri, but by Mr. McDuffie, a representative from South Carolina. The Judiciary committee on both of these occasions declined to recommend impeachment and failed to make any report whatsoever with reference to the memorial. At the session of Congress which convened in December, 1829, Mr. McDuffie repeated his effort by again having the complaint of Mr. Lawless referred to the Judiciary committee. On this occasion a report was made, and in accordance therewith the House was resolved into a Committee of the Whole, and the case considered. The House of Representatives, by its vote, impeached Judge Peck on April 21, 1830.

The impeachment came just at the culmination of a persistent and prolonged assault in Congress upon the national judiciary.¹⁷ Every argument that has ever been brought forth against the courts was advanced during the debates which started about the time the District Court was established in Missouri, and continued for ten years. Daniel Webster, in January, 1830, in his reply to Hayne, made his famous defense of the Supreme Court. He was followed by our own David Barton, who, in February, 1830, said in a speech in the Senate, "I enter my protest against making the Judiciary of the United States the topic of mere party denunciation and popular declamation." It was during this long discussion of the status of the national courts that Judge Peck was impeached.

¹⁷"No actual move towards curtailment or abrogation of the powers and functions of the Court was made until the year 1821, when there was initiated in Congress the first of a series of Legislative attacks lasting through the next ten years." — Warren, *The Supreme Court*, Vol. 1, p. 652.

It can be said with assurance that the impeachment of a Federal judge on such slight provocation would not have been possible at any other time in our history.¹⁸

The article of impeachment was filed in the Senate on May 4, 1830. There was but a single charge made against Judge Peck, and that was that he wrongfully and oppressively convicted and sentenced Mr. Lawless for contempt. The managers for the prosecution were James Buchanan, later President of the United States, and Messrs. McDuffie, Spencer and Wickliffe. Counsel for Judge Peck were William Wirt, formerly attorney general of the United States, and Mr. Meredith, of Pennsylvania.

The trial commenced on the 13th of December, 1830, and was concluded on January 31, 1831.¹⁹ The nature of the charge required that the contest be, in the main, the consideration of the general principles of the law of contempt. The prosecution urged that the Court had attempted to restrict the freedom of the press, had punished for contempt after an appeal had been taken, had imposed an improper punishment, in that it suspended a member of the bar from practice, and had by its attitude displayed a disposition to oppressively injure Mr. Lawless in his professional capacity.

The position of the defense was that by reason of the pendency of the great number of land claims, and the similarity of the questions therein presented, the strictures of Mr. Lawless were calculated to spread the feeling among all these claimants, that they could not obtain a fair trial; that the tendency of the article was to bring the Court into disrepute, contempt and ridicule; and that it was imperative that the Court uphold and maintain its integrity.

¹⁸There were local conditions in Missouri that contributed to the attack upon Judge Peck. The status of land claims was a political issue. There was a move in progress to put the consideration of the claims in a commission, and this was ultimately successful.

The Constitution of 1820 provided that judges should be appointed by the governor during good behavior. Before the impeachment of Judge Peck, a campaign had commenced in Missouri in behalf of certain proposed amendments to the Constitution to the end that the power of appointment of judges be taken from the governor, and that their tenure be for a definite period. The case of Judge Peck was cited as an example of the arbitrary demeanor of an appointive judiciary.

¹⁹Stansbury, *Report of the Trial of Judge Peck* contains all of the proceedings.

These were the propositions that were elaborately expounded at the trial, and the entire history of contempt was reviewed in a manner befitting the able lawyers involved, and the dignified tribunal before which the cause was heard.²⁰ When the vote was taken, twenty-two members of the Court voted not guilty, and twenty-one members voted guilty. This was substantially less than the two-thirds majority necessary for conviction. David Barton voted not guilty. Daniel Webster and Dudley Chase were members of the impeachment court and they likewise voted for the acquittal of Judge Peck. Thomas H. Benton asked to be excused from voting on questions preliminary to the actual trial. During the taking of testimony he was called to the witness stand, identified some papers, and was thus disqualified from voting on the final roll call.

Thus ended the great humiliation which had hung over Judge Peck for almost five years. The House of Representatives on three occasions refused to impeach him. Evidently the merit of the complaint was not outstanding. The Committee had recommended that the complaint against him be withdrawn. It is quite possible, notwithstanding the attitude and disposition of Mr. Lawless, that an understanding could have been reached between Judge Peck and his accuser. There is no evidence that Judge Peck made or caused others to make the least effort in that direction. Confident of his own position in the matter, he courageously faced the ordeal. The outcome was a vindication, but the stigma of the indictment was not removed. The impeachment deprived the first judge of this Court of the position in public esteem to which he was justly entitled.

A President of the United States was impeached, and though acquitted, he was, nevertheless, denied the place in the public mind which is ordinarily accorded to a former chief executive. In a minor position, in this community and State, for a similar reason, Judge Peck had a similar experience.

But since the decision of the Supreme Court in the Myers

²⁰Kennedy, *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt*, Vol. 2, p. 207.

case,²¹ the facts out of which the presidential impeachment grew have been re-examined with the result that Andrew Johnson now appears as one of the really great statesmen in the country's history.²² There is little reason to believe that the blight of his impeachment will ever be erased from Judge Peck's career.

It is impossible to form an estimate of Judge Peck from the printed report of his decisions. The reporting and printing of decisions was not carried on so assiduously in his day as it is now. Few, if any, of his opinions are to be found in the reports. The testimony taken in the impeachment proceeding before the Senate, gives a fair estimate of the man and the judge. The character of the witnesses lends credence to their statements.

John B. C. Lucas, judge of the Common Pleas court in Pennsylvania, member of Congress from that State, judge of the U. S. Court of Upper Louisiana territory, and an outstanding Missourian of the early day, testified:

"I must also be permitted to state, that the character of the Judge, so far as I have known him (and I have had a good opportunity), is extremely delicate and respectful; he pays the greatest regard to the feelings of the gentlemen of the bar, and of all other persons. He has a peculiarity in his expressions, which I might call impressiveness; so that the more a subject becomes interesting, and the more it requires the best exertions of the mind, the more impressiveness and the more earnestness he shows; as if he was himself deeply impressed with the subject."

Robert Wash, Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, said in answer to inquiries:

"Q. What is his usual judicial manner?

A. I have ever considered him a very mild and patient Judge . . . particularly patient. He pays the greatest attention to the arguments of counsel, however protracted, and exhibits the most enduring patience on the bench.

Q. What is his usual manner, in the delivery of his opinions?

A. It is very mild, and unimpassioned, except when he is very much interested; whenever his mind becomes much engrossed, whether on the bench, or off of it, his manner becomes earnest and impassioned; his ordinary manner is rather phlegmatic."

²¹272 U. S. 52.

²²Bowers, *The Tragic Era*; Winston, *Life of Andrew Johnson*.

Spencer Pettis, who defeated Judge Peck's friend, Edward Bates, for Congress in 1828, and who defeated David Barton for the same position in 1830, cannot be regarded as a partisan witness. He testified as follows:

"Q. What is the habitual disposition of the Judge as to mildness and patience, or arbitrary and oppressive propensities?

A. I always viewed him as one among the mildest men I ever knew in my life. He is very patient, in the arguments held before him, and in all that I know of him. He is a man who shows firmness, however, on all occasions. He is very firm but very mild in his disposition. In these remarks I speak of Judge Peck both in his judicial and his private character.

Q. What is his usual deportment on the bench, as to courtesy?

A. It is always respectful; at least I was as much pleased with his conduct towards members of the bar as in any court before which I ever practiced."

Judge William C. Carr of the Circuit Court of Missouri, gave his view of Judge Peck as a man:

"His general reputation is that of being very mild and gentlemanly;—amiable in his character and disposition, and much beloved by those who are intimate with him—very much."

Inasmuch as the impeachment court received evidence of the general conduct and demeanor of Judge Peck on the bench, it is reasonable to suppose that evidence to his detriment, if available, would have been received. There was not a word of testimony in criticism of Judge Peck on any other occasion. Outside of the contempt proceeding, and the acquittal resolves any question about that, there was not a single event in the life of this man that reflects in the least upon his character, his integrity, or his judicial ability.

In addition to the testimony in the Senate proceeding, there is available other contemporary opinion of Judge Peck. W. V. N. Bay, in *The Bench and Bar of Missouri*, says:

"It is known that he was a man of varied learning and classical attainments; in fact, he had the reputation of being an accomplished scholar and a thorough lawyer."

Mr. Elihu H. Shepard was a teacher of classical languages in St. Louis. He met Judge Peck in 1820, and was acquainted with him throughout the period of his judicial labors. In his *History of St. Louis*, Mr. Shepard wrote:

"Among the polished gentlemen who have graced the social circles of St. Louis and Missouri, and left a lasting impress of his urbanity, dignity, learning and other virtues, no one has distinguished himself more than Hon. James H. Peck, Judge of the United States District Court of Missouri.

"Judge Peck in early life obtained the position which, of all others, he seemed best qualified to fill with credit to himself and profit to his countrymen. Elated by his success and position, he seemed to deem it a duty for him to appear perfect in everything and an example to all, and probably no person in the city at that day displayed a disposition to elevate the character of the people among whom he dwelt more than he in every position where he acted."

Spencer Pettis, in a speech in the House of Representatives in opposition to the impeachment, said:

"I leave in the hands of this House, the cause of a Judge whom I know to be a high-minded, honorable and earnest man; in whose court I have witnessed the administration of fair and impartial justice. I never for a moment suspected that Judge of looking to anything else than the law, and the merits of the cause before him. His integrity is above suspicion, his character without reproach, and his love for equal justice ardent and unwavering."

In addition to his work on the bench, Judge Peck took an active part in the civic and educational interest of the community and State. There is a tradition among the descendants of the family in Tennessee, that he was the host of General Lafayette on his visit to St. Louis in 1825. There is no doubt that this is true to the extent that Judge Peck was an active participant in the reception.²³ Judge Peck was one of the professional men who formed the St. Louis Lyceum.²⁴ This was a literary and debating club which played a large part in the cultural life of the city for many years. The organization is said to have been abandoned after Judge Peck's death.

The death of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams on July 4, 1826, profoundly impressed the people of our country. These two men were both signers of the Declaration of Independence; both members of President Washington's cabinet; candidates against each other for the presidency on two occasions, and both former Presidents. They died on the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of

²³Darby, *Personal Recollections*, p. 58.

²⁴Shepard, *History of St. Louis*, p. 127.

Independence. The news of their death did not reach St. Louis until August, 1826. In a response to a call, the citizens of the community assembled in the Baptist Meeting house, where Judge Peck delivered a patriotic memorial address.²⁵ As a result of that meeting, for one day, all business in the city was suspended in memory of these two great statesmen.

Gratitude for a kindly act, and loyalty to a friend, were outstanding characteristics of Judge Peck. In 1831, as a result of a political campaign, a duel was threatened between Spencer Pettis and Thomas Biddle. Judge Peck did everything in his power to avoid that occurrence, but his efforts were unavailing. Both men were mortally wounded in this contest, and Pettis was returned to St. Louis. Judge Peck, though not in good health at the time, went to the room of Pettis, who had befriended him in the trying time of the impeachment, and silently sat until the very end. This caused Major Edward Dobyns to say in his memoirs:

"Considering that Mr. Pettis was a political opponent of the party to which Judge Peck belonged, I have often thought and said that Judge Peck deserved great praise for his sympathy and interest shown to Mr. Pettis."

The friendship of Judge Peck and David Barton was lifelong and unwavering. Both men were bachelors. They cherished the confidence, and were exalted by the affection of each other. Judge Peck died at St. Charles on April 29, 1836, of pneumonia contracted from exposure while returning on horseback from Jefferson City.²⁶ David Barton was at his bedside, and he conveyed the news to the family in

²⁵Shepard, *History of St. Louis*, p. 86.

²⁶"Death of Hon. James H. Peck.—It gives us pain to announce that the Hon. James H. Peck, Judge of the U. S. District Court for the Missouri District, breathed his last on Saturday, opposite St. Charles. He was buried on the following day. Judge Peck suffered an illness of many weeks contracted on his return from holding a term of his court at Jefferson City. He was a man of sterling worth; enjoyed in an eminent degree, the respect and friendship of all within the circle of an extensive acquaintance. His death is a public calamity inasmuch as it vacates the office ably, impartially and honestly filled by him, and leaves it to be sought after by men of less worth and of very moderate qualifications."—From the *Missouri Republican*, of Tuesday, May 3, 1836.

Tennessee.²⁷ Judge Peck named David Barton as one of two executors of his will, but on account of ill health, Barton was compelled to renounce that trust. The next year Barton, too, joined the innumerable caravan. The State has erected a monument over his grave at Boonville, and no Missourian more richly deserved the honor.

These are some of the incidents in the life of Judge Peck, whose picture²⁸ the Bar Association of St. Louis presents today. Mr. Shepard, in the *History of St. Louis*, said, "neither Judge Peck nor Mr. Lawless has left a relative among us, or a monument of their labors to recall them to memory or en-

²⁷"St. Charles, May 1, 1836. Dear Sir: It is my painful duty to inform you of the death of your brother Judge Peck. He expired at this place on his return from holding court at Jefferson City, at about 10 o'clock A. M. of the 29th last, after a long illness of six or seven weeks, during which he suffered two relapses. His complaint was the common pneumonia. I came up on the 9th April and remained with him until he was buried in the public graveyard here on yesterday about noon. He made a will devising to you his claims in Georgia and 4/14ths of his other estate—the residue equally among his brothers and sisters, etc., and named myself and Henry S. Cox, late U. S. Br. Bank at St. Louis as Ex'rs.

It will be out of my power to take upon me the execution of the will from want of health laboring under a torpor of the liver, that will render freedom from confinement absolutely necessary. I wrote on the 26th ult. to your son, at Independence in the upper end of the State, & Hope he will be down soon & take charge of the estate, if Cox should decline the Executorship, as I shall do. The Judge left no debts I understand except to Judge Wash in relation to their dry dock. When I came up he took from the waistband of his drawers \$75 & handed to me to be expended in the necessaries for his sickness and which has been done. As I intend to travel up the country soon, you had better correspond with Judge Wash, Mr. Cox or your son.

The watch, clothing, etc., has been conveyed to his room at St. Louis by Judge Wash. Excuse further details for I am scarcely able to write, having been seriously indisposed and under the operation of mercury, almost since my arrival here.

Your friend,

DAVID BARTON."

Hon. Jacob Peck,
New Market,
Jefferson County, E. Tenn.

(Copy of original letter received from Miss Grace Bayless.)

²⁸Miss Grace Bayless of Jefferson county, Tenn., is a great-great-granddaughter of Judge Jacob Peck. The old homestead is still in the Peck family and is now occupied by Miss Bayless. She furnished a small photograph of a portrait of Judge James H. Peck, and it was from this that the St. Louis Bar Association had made the picture that was placed in the United States District Court. The whereabouts of the original portrait is unknown, but it was at one time in the possession of a relative in Tennessee.

lighten posterity." The members of the Bar have today provided this monument to Judge Peck. Your action in so doing is eminently proper. While the sources of information are somewhat meager, yet enough is available to indicate that you never erected a testimonial of your esteem for one of your former members who loved his country any more, or discharged his duty any better, than did Judge Peck.

MISSOURI HISTORY VALUES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRICULUM

BY PAULINE DINGLE KNOBBS

With the President of the United States emphasizing the need for development of state pride and consciousness, with outstanding magazines like *Current History* and *Forum* printing articles decrying the decay of public interest in local history and government, it has seemed to some thinking Missourians that it is time emphasis began to be placed in our public schools on our own State's development. Why? Because it is through a knowledge of the history of the State of Missouri that a proper interest in the problems of our State's development can be secured.

While traveling through the eastern seaboard states several years ago the writer noted that not only were historic sites marked but that school children knew and repeated with pride the local historical interest that made their towns unique. Missouri has a like picturesque history but her people too often are ignorant of it. Why? Because we do not inform them through teaching our State history in public school work.¹ So a Missouri history course if taught in a public school curriculum should have the following objectives:

First: It should recreate for the child the atmospheric conditions of life in its evolutionary stages in his home state. This appeals to the romantic, adventurous and imaginary qualities of his nature.

Second: Having thus caught his interest in this way he begins to get an appreciation of the sacrifices it took to give him the advantages of the splendid Commonwealth which he too often thoughtlessly accepts as a matter of course. This second objective—appreciation of the sacrifices and hardships it took to build Missouri—leads to the third.

¹The State Department of Education is having prepared a syllabus for Missouri History and the course is being recommended very extensively for first class high schools this year.—Letter of Mr. J. B. Scarborough, Director of High School Supervision, State Department of Public Schools, Jefferson City, July 20, 1932. (Editor's Note.)

Third: Missouri history should be so taught as to inspire the child to study the current problems of his State, so that he may continue the objectives set by the early founders of the Commonwealth. It should present both sides of current questions facing his State, so that he may establish well-balanced opinions that will motivate his interest.

Fourth: The next objective is a result of the third, and that is to develop desire for sane and more active participation in the activities of his State and local government, that he may intelligently carry on his function of a good citizen. The key words are information, appreciation, inspiration and participation, in Missouri activities. If it will stimulate people out of their lethargic attitude of being willing to let responsibilities, which they should assume, fall on the shoulders of those less competent, then it will not have been taught in vain.

With these objectives in mind the writer will next present the method by which this course was successfully taught in the Kirksville high school. The course was outlined in eight units named as follows:

1. Missouri Before and During the Era of Exploration.
2. Missouri's French, Spanish and American Territorial Life.
3. Missouri's Struggle for Statehood.
4. Missouri's Problems as a Newly Organized State.
5. Missouri During the Era of Slavery and the Civil War.
6. Missouri During the Era of Reconstruction.
7. Missouri's Social, Economic, and Political Growth since the Civil War.
8. Missouri's Current Problems Yet Unsolved.

Each of these units was outlined in skeleton form and mimeographed, in order that the organization outline might be filled in by the child after the assigned amount of reading had been done.

As a second activity in the course, a map book of ten United States outline maps and fifty Missouri outline maps was used to add the geographical correlation. Directions

for the use and making of these maps were mimeographed by the teacher and a copy of each set of directions for each unit of work was handed to each student. This book was made up in special edition to order by the Historical Publishing Company of Topeka, Kansas.

The third activity of the course consisted of a series of special reports, supplementing each unit. This was planned by the teacher after a careful classification in period bibliography of all the articles of *The Missouri Historical Review* since 1912. The files of this most valued source of Missouri history are complete in our high school library. Every article of value supplementing each unit was classified and used at the time when that particular field of work needed supplementing in that unit. If additional copies of these *Reviews* had been available more effective work might have been secured by having the class as a whole read these articles. If these magazines are not available to the local high school library there can usually be found in a community one subscriber who will donate his copies for the further dissemination of Missouri history knowledge. That is how the complete collection was secured in this instance. Complete sets of the *Review* may be purchased from the State Historical Society of Missouri and many of the volumes may be obtained at a very low price. Through the use of these *Missouri Historical Reviews* another value is found for the study of Missouri history. Students become interested in joining the State Historical Society of Missouri and continuing their enthusiasm for Missouri history. By those, who know of the diligent work of its officers and enthusiasm of its membership, it is believed that no other service has done more to perpetuate and develop interest and research in this State's history. Not only in the publication of this quarterly magazine does it contribute to childhood and adult education alike in Missouri history, but in addition it maintains a weekly news service known as, "This Week in Missouri History," which is published every week in two hundred and fifty newspapers of the State. A former student of mine in Missouri history showed me some weeks ago a complete scrap-

book, neatly dated, beautifully arranged and filled with clippings from this weekly news service and remarked, "Some day, I'll have a most complete Missouri History all of my own." Thus is shown how interest began in a high school Missouri history class is continued by this important State educational society.

Through the library service of the State Historical Society a remarkable amount of research in Missouri history has been made possible. Graduate students at the University of Missouri and students in colleges throughout our State find its archives priceless in aiding them in the writing of theses and dissertations. In these *Missouri Historical Reviews* are published extracts of such research from time to time and thus the latest information on the subject of Missouri history is made available not only to members of the organization but to the libraries of educational institutions of our State. In teaching this course I find no other supplementary material as useful as these.

Fourth: Supplementary reading was secured by the use of a series of parallel texts. Violette's *History of Missouri* was used as a basic text with constant supplement by Shoemaker's *Missouri and Missourians*, McClure's *History of Missouri*, Fair's *Missouri Government and Politics*, etc. References to biographies, too numerous to list, were made in case of such prominent Missourians as Boone, Benton, Blair, etc. General American histories were used for background material where such was needed. Such books as Burgess' *The Middle Period*, Parkman's *Oregon Trail*, etc., are examples. Special works on Missouri history in periods are rather scarce but Shoemaker's *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, Houck's *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Houck's *History of Missouri*, and Mudd's *With Porter in North Missouri*, contribute most interesting information to the children. Encouragement was also given to the reading of historical novels with Missouri settings such as Stanley's *Order No. Eleven*, and Doneghy's *The Border*.

As a fifth activity, term papers were written on current problems of Missouri such as her tax situation, school system, literary contributions, etc. It was necessary in almost every instance of these papers for the children to send for source material and acquaint themselves with it before the paper could be completed.

As a sixth part of the course, we took the magazine called "Missouri," published by the State Chamber of Commerce at Jefferson City. This was used to keep in touch with current economic and social happenings in the State.

Seventh: In cooperative participation with the United Daughters of the Confederacy of the State the class wrote an essay on the Missouri Compromise. This was a part of a state-wide campaign conducted by this organization through its State historian. There were three prizes for the best essays. Such contests, conducted by organizations interested in developing thought on the subject of State History, are deeply motivative. They encourage the child to achievement and motivate him to realize values in attaining knowledge of his State's true contributions. Such contests might well be encouraged by other organizations interested in developing true impressions of such phases of State history of which they are representative.

Last, at the end of each unit of work mentioned above there was given an objective test consisting of true-false, multiple and single choice, matching, enumeration and completion questions.

The class was taught for juniors and seniors in high school and was accredited one-half unit of work. It was elective and consequently chosen by those most interested in the history field. In 1931 there were twenty-eight members of the class and in 1932 there were forty-three—showing the increase of interest.

Based on the opinions of administrators, teachers and students whom the writer has interviewed, one might draw the following conclusions concerning the values of this course in the public school curriculum:

First: It offers an excellent opportunity to acquaint the coming citizens of our State, at their most impressionable age, with their heritage of the past which they should value, preserve and improve.

Second: It is a good way to produce adult public opinion on current State problems to educate the child, and let him go home and as a project interview his parents on the question at hand.

Third: It introduces the children to local history to see the part their own locality has played in State development. Many stories that would otherwise be lost to history are dug up by the children and preserved. Missouri needs to preserve for her history local stories and folk tales, as Alice Morse Earle did for Old New England, in her series of books.

Fourth: It produces constructive State pride and interest that is able to evaluate Missouri's position in the Federal Union.

Fifth: From a school administrator's standpoint it offers a half-credit subject in the social sciences for juniors and seniors, the years when such are sorely needed.

Sixth: It develops more minutely than is possible in American history, turning points for which Missouri is responsible, as the Missouri Compromise, influence of Thomas Hart Benton, etc.

Seventh: It will furnish the seeming great need of a bulwark against the centralization of government. In giving students the necessary information it will make them want to cause Missouri to be the best State of the Union and the one to cause the least problems.

With these values and objectives, why isn't Missouri history taught more widely in our public schools? For one thing Missouri is, comparatively speaking, a new State, only 112 years old, in contrast with Virginia and Massachusetts, which can trace their unity to the 17th century. They have developed State pride and consciousness because they have passed the stage of the pioneer so long ago that they have leisure to devote to the resurrection of their romantic past.

Missouri, through such organizations as the D. A. R., Daughters of 1812, G. A. R., and U. D. C. is awaking to the need of preserving her romantic past before all of those who know it pass on. But such a task should not be the work of these private and selective organizations alone. It should and is the work of Missouri public schools to educate their youth to State pride and consciousness; to make them constructive, participating citizens in the great Commonwealth that bears in history the triple title of Key, Gateway, and Mother of the West.

A NEW VIEW OF THE ELECTION OF BARTON AND BENTON TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE IN 1820

BY MONAS N. SQUIRES

Few events in the early history of Missouri as a State have more popular appeal than the story of how David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton were elected the first two U. S. senators of Missouri. On the one hand, the election gave recognition to Barton, under whom Missouri's first Constitution had been drafted; and on the other hand, by a bare majority, it inaugurated a political dynasty under Benton that was to dominate Missouri for thirty years. The fact that Benton's election was said to have been made possible by the vote of one legislator who was on his deathbed, and by that of another who is credited with being a personal enemy, has served to heighten the drama of the event.

This paper would have been unnecessary, perhaps, if early writers on the election of Barton and Benton had had at their disposal, and had consulted, the official journals of the first General Assembly, contemporary newspapers, and private correspondence of the time. For in no other way than by the lack of sufficient source material can the writer explain adequately how early chroniclers made the obvious mistakes which are apparent in their work. By citing the official journals, newspapers, and private letters, this article presents evidence that only one election was held and not two or more as some writers maintain, and that Barton was not elected senator by a unanimous vote.¹ An attempt is made here, also, to explain fully the part of Daniel Ralls in the election of Benton, and to a less degree, the part played by Marie P. Leduc. Mention is also made of the legislative maneuvering which accompanied the efforts to elect Missouri's first senators.

¹This was shown in 1916 by Floyd C. Shoemaker in his *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, pp. 272 f.

The best known story of the first Missouri senatorial election, is that told by John F. Darby, former lawyer, mayor and congressman of St. Louis. The first printed version of Darby's story in history, so far as is known, is that which was printed by Switzler in 1879; Switzler credits the story to Darby.² Darby followed this in 1880 with his delightful book of *Personal Recollections*, in which substantially the same story as reported by Switzler is given, although there are a few differences.³ Louis Houck in his *History of Missouri*, gives a similar narrative, as also does William M. Meigs in *The Life of Thomas Hart Benton*.⁴ A similarity of all these accounts, together with instances of similar or identical errors, indicate a common source on which they were based.

Briefly, Darby's story of the election can be summarized as follows: David Barton was chosen senator "without opposition",⁵ but after effort to elect the other senator, it was found impossible to elect any of the five other candidates. Barton was then given the opportunity to name his colleague and he chose Benton, but even with Barton's support, it seemed to be almost impossible to elect Benton. It was then decided by the Benton men to win one vote from an opposition candidate, and Marie P. Leduc was chosen. On the Saturday night of September 30, 1820, Leduc was persuaded to vote for Benton instead of Lucas and he did at the election on October 2. But Daniel Ralls, a Benton man, was seriously ill, and for fear he would die before the election, the Benton forces desired that a vote be taken as soon as possible. At 9 o'clock on October 2,⁶ the houses met and Daniel Ralls was carried by four negroes to the legislative hall in his sick bed to vote for Benton. After the election of Benton, Ralls was carried back upstairs to his room in the hotel, where he died. For this last act of his life, Ralls county was named for him.—

²See Switzler, Wm. F., *Illustrated History of Missouri*, pp. 213-4.

³Darby, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 29-33.

⁴Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, pp. 267-8; Meigs, *The Life of Thomas Hart Benton*, pp. 119-121.

⁵Switzler, *History of Missouri*, p. 213, says "by unanimous vote"; Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, p. 267, says "without opposition."

⁶The actual hour was 3 p. m.; see *Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, pp. 31-2.

Such is a summary of the main points of Darby's story.⁷ However, the journals of the two houses of the first General Assembly, and other sources, do not confirm entirely the story as told by Darby.

EFFORTS MADE TO SET THE ELECTION DATE

The first General Assembly had been in session at St. Louis only one day when on September 19, Representative Joseph Evans of St. Charles county proposed that the election of United States senators be held on Monday, September 25. The House adopted a resolution to this effect.⁸ On the following day, however, the action of the House was rescinded on the motion of John S. Ball of St. Louis county.⁹ It was then ordered that a committee be appointed to bring in a bill prescribing the times, places and manner of appointing electors for president and vice-president of the United States and of a representative and senators of Missouri in Congress. John S. Ball of St. Louis, Joseph Evans of St. Charles, and John Ray of Howard were appointed the committee,¹⁰ and the Senate was notified of the appointment. In the senatorial election which took place on October 2, Ball voted for Barton and Benton, as also did Evans; John Ray was absent on account of sickness.¹¹

On September 21, Ball reported a bill to the House prescribing a manner of electing the United States Senators from Missouri.¹² The bill was read a first and second time, ordered engrossed and read a third time the next day. Nothing appears in the *Journal* to show that the bill was under discussion on September 22.¹³

The Senate took up the election bill on the motion of Benjamin Emmons of St. Charles on September 23.¹⁴ Emmons

⁷Darby, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 29-33.

⁸*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 10.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Verification of all votes may be made with the results of the election which are given on a following page.

¹²*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 15.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 16-23.

¹⁴*Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 18.

was a Barton-Jones man. The bill was read twice and ordered committed to a committee of the whole and made the order of the day for Monday, September 25.¹⁵

On the 25th, the Senate, in Committee of the Whole, made several amendments to the bill. When the amended bill was reported back to the Senate, Matthias McGirk of St. Louis offered an amendment which carried in the Senate by a majority of one vote.¹⁶ McGirk was a Barton-Benton man. McGirk's amendment, however, is not embodied in the senatorial law that was finally passed.¹⁷

The next day, September 26, George F. Bollinger, a Lucas-Jones man of the Cape Girardeau-New Madrid district, moved that the Senate reconsider a resolution on the subject of voting for senators by ballot instead of *viva voce*.¹⁸ Only three senators voted not to reconsider the matter; they were: Matthias McGirk; Isadore Moore of the Ste. Genevieve district, a Benton-Jones man; and Samuel Perry of the Washington-Jefferson district, a Lucas-Jones man. Further consideration of the bill was ordered postponed and it was ordered to be made the order of the day and to be read a third time for its final passage the next day.

The Senate resumed consideration of the senatorial election bill on September 27. It was read a third time and ordered passed as amended.¹⁹ The House was notified that the Senate had passed the bill with some amendments, and the House, taking up the amendments, agreed to them.²⁰

On September 28, the bill was reported to the House as enrolled; the speaker signed it and sent it to the Senate where it was signed by the president and then sent to the governor.²¹ The governor approved the act the same day and it became the first law passed by the first General Assembly of the State of Missouri.²²

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁷*Acts of the First General Assembly*, 1820, pp. 3-4.

¹⁸*Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, pp. 20-1.

¹⁹*Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 24.

²⁰*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 28.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 30; *Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 26.

²²*Acts of the First General Assembly*, 1820, pp. 3-4.

The senatorial election act provided that the General Assembly, in joint session, could elect the senators by a simple majority vote of the votes cast.²³ On September 29, the House was informed that the governor had signed the act and a few minutes later William Smith of St. Charles county proposed that a joint session assemble at 11 o'clock the next day, Saturday, September 30, and elect the senators by ballot.²⁴ Mr. Smith in the senatorial election voted for Barton and Benton.

The Smith proposal was voted down and in its place Edmund Rutter of Cape Girardeau county proposed that the General Assembly meet in joint session in the representative chamber on Monday next, October 2, at 3 o'clock, and elect the United States Senators by *viva voce* vote.²⁵ This motion passed the House. In the senatorial election, Rutter voted for Lucas and Elliott.

As soon as the resolution to hold the election on October 2 had passed the House, it was communicated to the Senate, where the senators resolved to notify the House that they did not concur. The name of the senator who made the motion not to concur is not given in the *Journal*.²⁶

Back in the House of Representatives the next day, September 30, Joseph McFerron of Cape Girardeau county offered the same resolution that had passed the House the day before.²⁷ McFerron later voted for Lucas and Jones for senators. Uriah J. Devore of St. Charles county moved to amend the resolution of McFerron only by "inviting" the Senate to assemble for the election on Monday, and this amendment was adopted.²⁸ Mr. Devore, in the election, voted for Benton and Lucas.

The Senate was again informed of the House resolution, whereupon Matthias McGirk of St. Louis moved to strike out the words *viva voce* and insert therein the words "by

²³*Ibid.*; Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, p. 272.

²⁴*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, pp. 33-4.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 34.

²⁶*Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 30.

²⁷*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 35.

²⁸*Ibid.*

ballot."²⁹ McGirk's motion was defeated by the Senate, McGirk and Isadore Moore of Ste. Genevieve county, a Benton-Jones man, being the only ones to vote in the affirmative. The *Senate Journal* does not say who proposed that the Senate concur with the House request, but the motion was carried with only McGirk and Moore, both Benton men, voting in the negative.³⁰

THE ELECTION IS HELD

Thus on Saturday, September 30, before adjournment for the day, it was decided by both Houses of the General Assembly to meet the following Monday, to elect the first two United States Senators from Missouri. On October 2, at 3 p. m., in accordance with previous resolutions, both Houses of the General Assembly met in the chamber of the House of Representatives in the Missouri Hotel at St. Louis and held the first and only election of the first General Assembly for United States Senators.³¹ Fifty-two members of the General Assembly voted, each member casting two votes, one each for the candidates which the voter wished to fill the two senatorial chairs. By terms of the senatorial election bill passed September 28, a majority vote elected a candidate. Thus, twenty-seven votes were required for election.

The results of the joint vote, taken *viva voce*, were as follows:³²

For David Barton: 34.

Rep. Alcorn (James) of Howard
Rep. Allen (Bethel) of Montgomery
Rep. Ball (John S.) of St. Louis
Sen. Barcroft (Elias) of Howard-Cooper
Rep. Bates (William) of Jefferson
Sen. Bent (Silas) of St. Louis
Rep. Boone (Jesse B.) of Montgomery

²⁹*Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, pp. 31-32.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 32.

³¹*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, pp. 37-8; *Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 34.

³²The *House Journal*, the *Senate Journal*, and contemporary newspapers do not agree exactly as to the details of the vote. The returns given here correct obvious errors and are based on the following: *House Journal*, pp. 37-8; *Senate Journal*, p. 34; *St. Louis Missouri Gazette*, Oct. 4, 1820; *St. Louis Enquirer*, Oct. 7, 1820; *Franklin Missouri Intelligencer*, Oct. 14, 1820.

Rep. Boulware (Philip P.) of Franklin
Sen. Clark (Bennet) of Howard-Cooper
Sen. Cooper (Benjamin) of Howard-Cooper
Sen. Cummins (Richard W.) of Howard-Cooper
Sen. Emmons (Benjamin) of St. Charles
Rep. Evans (Joseph) of St. Charles
Rep. Hall (John) of New Madrid
Rep. Harris (Tyre) of Howard
Rep. Leduc (Marie P.) of St. Louis
Rep. Lillard (William) of Cooper
Rep. McFarland (William) of Cooper
Sen. McGirk (Matthias) of St. Louis
Rep. McGirk (Andrew S.) of Howard
Rep. Monroe (Daniel) of Howard
Rep. Musick (David) of St. Louis
Rep. Parmer (Martin) of Howard
Rep. Ralls (Daniel) of Pike
Rep. Rodgers (Thomas) of Cooper
Rep. Smiley (Thomas) of Cooper
Rep. Smith (William) of St. Charles
Rep. Stewart (Alexander) of St. Louis
Rep. Walton (Henry) of St. Louis
Rep. Waters (Joab) of Ste. Genevieve
Rep. Waters (Richard) of New Madrid
Rep. Williams (Samuel C.) of Howard
Rep. Wright (Morgan) of Lincoln
Speaker Caldwell (James) of Ste. Genevieve.

For Thomas H. Benton: 27.

Rep. Alcorn (James) of Howard
Rep. Allen (Bethel) of Montgomery
Rep. Ball (John S.) of St. Louis
Sen. Barcroft (Elias) of Howard-Cooper
Rep. Boone (Jesse B.) of Montgomery
Rep. Boulware (Philip P.) of Franklin
Sen. Cummins (Richard W.) of Howard-Cooper
Rep. Devore (Uriah J.) of St. Charles
Rep. Elston (Elias) of Howard
Rep. Evans (Joseph) of St. Charles
Rep. Graves (Thomas W.) of Cape Girardeau
Rep. Hall (John) of New Madrid
Rep. Harris (Tyre) of Howard
Rep. Johnson (James) of Pike
Rep. Leduc (Marie P.) of St. Louis
Rep. Lillard (William) of Cooper
Sen. McGirk (Matthias) of St. Louis
Rep. McGirk (Andrew S.) of Howard

Sen. Moore (Isadore) of Ste. Genevieve
Rep. Parmer (Martin) of Howard
Rep. Ralls (Daniel) of Pike
Rep. Smiley (Thomas) of Cooper
Rep. Smith (William) of St. Charles
Rep. Waters (Joab) of Ste. Genevieve
Rep. Waters (Richard) of New Madrid
Rep. Williams (Samuel C.) of Howard
Rep. Wright (Morgan) of Lincoln.

For John B. C. Lucas: 16.

Sen. Bollinger (George F.) of Cape Girardeau-New Madrid
Sen. Byrd (Abraham) of Cape Girardeau-New Madrid
Rep. Devore (Uriah J.) of St. Charles
Rep. English (Robert) of Cape Girardeau
Rep. Hudspeth (George) of Washington
Rep. Johnson (James) of Pike
Sen. Logan (David) of Madison-Wayne
Rep. McFerron (Joseph) of Cape Girardeau
Rep. Murphy (David) of Ste. Genevieve
Sen. Perry (Samuel) of Washington-Jefferson
Rep. Rodgers (Thomas) of Cooper
Rep. Rubottom (Ezekiel) of Wayne
Rep. Rutter (Edmund) of Cape Girardeau
Rep. Stephenson (Robert M.) of Washington
Rep. Strother (Samuel D.) of Madison
Speaker Caldwell (James) of Ste. Genevieve

For Henry Elliott: 10.

Rep. Bates (William) of Jefferson
Rep. English (Robert) of Cape Girardeau
Rep. Graves (Thomas W.) of Cape Girardeau
Rep. Hudspeth (George) of Washington
Sen. Logan (David) of Madison-Wayne
Rep. Murphy (David) of Ste. Genevieve
Rep. Relfe (James H.) of Ste. Genevieve
Rep. Rubottom (Ezekiel) of Wayne
Rep. Rutter (Edmund) of Cape Girardeau
Rep. Stephenson (Robert M.) of Washington.

For John R. Jones: 9.

Sen. Bollinger (George F.) of Cape Girardeau-New Madrid
Sen. Byrd (Abraham) of Cape Girardeau-New Madrid
Sen. Emmons (Benjamin) of St. Charles
Rep. McFerron (Joseph) of Cape Girardeau
Sen. Moore (Isadore) of Ste. Genevieve
Sen. Perry (Samuel) of Washington-Jefferson

Rep. Relfe (James H.) of Ste. Genevieve
Rep. Strother (Samuel D.) of Madison
Rep. Walton (Henry) of St. Louis.

For Nathaniel Cook: 8.

Sen. Bent (Silas) of St. Louis
Sen. Clark (Bennet) of Howard-Cooper
Sen. Cooper (Benjamin) of Howard-Cooper
Rep. Elston (Elias) of Howard
Rep. McFarland (William) of Cooper
Rep. Monroe (Daniel) of Howard
Rep. Musick (David) of St. Louis
Rep. Stewart (Alexander) of St. Louis.

Senator James Talbott of the Montgomery-Franklin county district, and Representative John Ray of Howard county, were absent on account of sickness.³³ The *Journals* do not show who nominated the various candidates, but Benton was nominated by a son of Daniel Boone, Representative Jesse B. Boone of Montgomery county.³⁴

David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton, having polled a majority of votes cast, were declared elected senators from Missouri to the Congress of the United States.³⁵

TWO LETTERS AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

Supplementing the facts as given in the *Journals*, are two interesting letters of this period, which throw light on the senatorial election. In a letter to Frederick Bates, dated at St. Louis on September 14, 1820, Joshua Barton, a brother of David Barton, wrote the following:

As the meeting of the Legislature is at hand, you will excuse me for again introducing the subject I spoke to you on. I am informed by McNair & others from the upper country that it is the wish of many of the members from that quarter you should run for the Senate, and the same wish I have heard frequently expressed by very respectable gentlemen of this place. Col. Cook is a candidate and wil (*sic*) beat Benton.

As to yourself I do believe there is no difficulty if you can give your consent to be run.³⁶

³³*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 38.

³⁴Benton, Thos. H., *Thirty Years View*, I, p. 737.

³⁵*Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 34; *House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, pp. 37-8.

³⁶*The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, edited by Thomas Maitland Marshall, II, p. 308.

This letter from Joshua Barton is of interest because it suggests the possibility of another candidate for senator, and expresses the opinion that Benton would be beaten by Nathaniel Cook, a rather surprising statement coming from the brother of the future Senator Barton.

In a letter to Gen. Thomas A. Smith at Franklin, dated September 29, 1820, William Christy of St. Louis wrote the following:

... The Election for Senators has not yet taken place. Benton gains ground dayley (*sic*) with the members & we have great hopes that we shal (*sic*) not again be defeated. The most influential & honest class of Society here are using (*sic*) their endeavours to get Benton elected. Bartons election is shure (*sic*).....³⁷

Although meagre, the information summarized above, indicates a number of conclusions. First, it was men who voted for Benton who generally opposed a *viva voce* vote in the senatorial election. The motives behind this effort to have the election by ballot, and thus secret, are difficult to find, particularly so, in view of the fact that it was unconstitutional for the vote to be anything other than *viva voce*.³⁸ Nevertheless, Benton men led the attack in an effort to have the vote taken by ballot. After the election, the *St. Louis Enquirer*, Benton's paper, pointed out that the constitution required the vote to be *viva voce*.³⁹

Second, all proposals setting an early date for the senatorial election were made by Benton men; one such proposal would have set the election on September 25, another would have set it on September 30. This is in contradiction to Darby's story in which he claims that the Benton men wished to delay the election until Leduc was proselyted to the Benton side, but desired, also, to have the election before Ralls had died. The desire of the Benton men to have an early election, as is shown by the *Journals*, did not necessarily arise from Ralls' sickness because the first proposal by a Benton man for an election was made on September 19, and Daniel Ralls,

³⁷Smith Manuscript Collection, in the Library of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

³⁸Constitution of the State of Missouri, 1820, Art. III, Sec. 22.

³⁹St. Louis Enquirer, Oct. 7, 1820.

as we shall show later, was definitely present in the House as late as September 22, and may have been present on September 23. Moreover, if Leduc's vote were as doubtful and as important to Benton's election as Darby has indicated, the Benton men would not have advocated September 25 and September 30 as the time of election, if Leduc's vote was not won until the night of September 30 and the morning following. Either Darby's story, or his dates, are wrong.

Third, it is evident from data found in the *Journals* that the Lucas men attained their wishes as to the method, manner and time of the election in opposition to the wishes of the Benton men. Barton seems to have been well assured of one of the senatorships, as indicated by his strong vote in the election, and the opinion in one of the letters cited. Of the other five candidates, Benton and Lucas received the greatest number of votes in the election of October 2, and they were, as Darby indicates, the leading contenders for the other senatorial seat. The fact that the Lucas men were able to determine the time and manner of election over the wishes of the Benton men, although not polling enough votes to defeat Benton in the election, shows that the followers of the minor candidates could unite with Lucas men on methods of procedure, but could not unite on one candidate in the election. It is difficult, however, to understand why the Lucas men should put off the election in view of the fact that "Benton gains ground dayley" as Christy put it.

Fourth, the vote given above, with data presented therewith, shows conclusively that only one vote for the election of senators was taken. It shows further, that, instead of being elected unanimously, or polling a total of 52 votes, David Barton polled but 34 votes, or 18 votes less than unanimous. This vote shows, also, that even though Benton led all the remaining candidates by a wide margin, he was strong enough only to gain a bare majority of votes cast.

LEDUC AND THE ELECTION OF BENTON

It is around the manner in which the Benton forces obtained the votes necessary to elect their candidate that the drama of this election has revolved. Of the 27 who

voted for Benton, 22 were members who also voted for Barton; this fact would give credence to the story of Darby and others that Barton threw his influence to Benton, but so unpopular was Benton that his election was still unassured. Apparently Benton had some following which was not pro-Barton, for five of the members voting for Benton voted for candidates other than Barton. Strangely enough, two of those who voted for Benton also voted for Lucas, who was credited with being a personal enemy of Benton; the other three cast votes for Cook, Elliott and Jones.

There is not known any material that would disprove the story told by Darby as to how the Benton men gained the vote of Marie P. Leduc.⁴⁰ Leduc, a Frenchman and a member of the House from St. Louis, was a Lucas supporter, according to Darby.⁴¹ It is known, however, that Lucas at one time had opposed Leduc's appointment to a public office.⁴² Lucas, also a Frenchman, had every right to hate Benton, because the latter had killed Lucas' son, Charles, in a duel at St. Louis on September 27, 1817.⁴³ Leduc is credited with saying that he would never vote for Benton, but after Benton's friends had canvassed the Legislature for votes and found that they lacked but one vote to gain an election, they chose Leduc as the one to win to their side from the opposition candidates.

Pressure was brought to bear on Leduc, according to Darby, and a meeting was held at which Leduc and several other prominent Frenchmen attended. Col. Auguste Chouteau, John P. Cabanne, Gen. Bernard Pratte, Maj. Pierre

⁴⁰Marie P. Leduc (or Le Duc) was born at St. Denis, France, in 1770 or 1772. He came to New Orleans when a young man. He was at New Madrid in what is now Missouri in 1793, and in 1799 came to St. Louis, where he served as secretary of the Spanish province under lieutenant-governor Delassus. He married in 1802, Marguerite Papin, who died in 1808. Leduc left a long record of public service behind him; he was "recorder, alderman, justice of the peace, notary, clerk of the circuit and county courts, judge of probate" and also served in the Territorial Legislature and the Missouri General Assembly. Judge Leduc died at the home of his brother-in-law, Hypolite Papin at Cote Brillante on Aug. 15, 1842. (See: Scharf, *History of St. Louis*, p. 330, p. 1481; Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in Its Early Days*, p. 475; *St. Louis Native American Bulletin*, Aug. 17, 1842.)

⁴¹Darby, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 30-31.

⁴²*The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, II, p. 185.

⁴³Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in Its Territorial Days*, p. 84; Darby, p. 30.

Chouteau, Sylvester Labadie and Gregoire Sarpy, all friends of Leduc, were present. Auguste Chouteau, as spokesman, urged Leduc to vote for Benton; it was argued that if Judge Lucas were elected, he would oppose confirmation of Spanish and French land claims held by those present; but that Benton would favor the confirmation of the claims. Finally, near daybreak, the meeting, which had started the night before on Saturday, September 30, broke up with Leduc agreeing to vote for Benton.⁴⁴ At the election on October 2, Leduc delivered his two votes for Barton and Benton. With Leduc voting for Benton, Judge Lucas failed to gain a single vote from the St. Louis delegation.

The above story by Darby about Leduc, presents some problems that are not easily explained. That the antagonism between Benton and Lucas was not absolutely clearly defined is shown by the fact that two men (Devore and Johnson) voted for both Benton and Lucas. This fact suggests the possibility that Leduc could have voted for Benton as well as for Lucas if he chose, a possibility entirely excluded by Darby in view of his contention that there was more than one election, in one of which Barton was elected "without opposition." It is singular, moreover, that Leduc should be the only prominent Frenchman of St. Louis mentioned by Darby to favor Lucas, who also was a Frenchman, particularly in view of the fact that at least on one occasion Lucas had opposed the appointment of Leduc to an office. Then, too, if Leduc had voted for Lucas, he would have been the only member of the General Assembly from St. Louis to do so. And it appears, further, that if Leduc were a strong friend of Lucas, as Darby says, it would have been easier for the Benton men to have won the vote of a man who voted in the election for neither Benton nor Lucas, than to convince Leduc to vote for a candidate who was bitterly and personally hated by Lucas. Although not sufficient to tear down Darby's story, such problems as these demand attention.

⁴⁴Darby, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 31-2.

THE DRAMATIC STORY OF DANIEL RALLS

But undoubtedly the most interesting incident of the whole story of the election of Barton and Benton to the Senate, is the story of how Daniel Ralls, dangerously ill, was brought to the House and cast his vote for Barton and Benton.⁴⁵ Ralls' vote was the last official action of his life, as indicated by Darby and confirmed by the *Journal* of the House.⁴⁶ However, Ralls did not die immediately after the election on October 2, or "shortly after," as some writers maintain, but he lingered on until his death at St. Louis on October 30, 1820.⁴⁷

With the vote for election to office as close as was Benton's it cannot be denied that every vote cast was important and necessary. The deflection of one vote, as the ballot stood on October 2 with 52 present, would have prevented the election of Benton, and in a broad sense, every vote cast for him was vital and necessary. Yet it is natural to attribute to the unusual or dramatic the entire credit of winning the election.

Nevertheless, the fact is that if Leduc and all the other Benton voters were present and could have been depended on to vote for Benton, the vote of Daniel Ralls was not necessary to the election of Benton, provided Ralls was absent from the election. If Ralls had been absent, or had died before the election, the total voting number would have been 51, with 26, a majority, necessary for election; if Leduc could have

⁴⁵Daniel Ralls was a native of Virginia. He removed to Kentucky and settled near Sharpsburg in Bath county. It is said that Ralls and his family moved to the Territory of Missouri in October, 1817, and settled in St. Louis county. Just a year later they moved to what was then Pike county, and settled on a farm near New London. When Daniel Ralls was elected from Pike county to the first General Assembly of Missouri in 1820, it is said that he was thirty-five years old. He was married and had five children, one of whom was John Ralls, a prominent lawyer of Ralls county. Ralls' death occurred during the first session of the General Assembly at St. Louis on October 30, 1820, and he was buried there the next day. (See: Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, 268; *History of Northeast Missouri*, I, p. 533; *Grand Lodge of Missouri*, A. F. & A. M., 1901, p. 27; Davis and Durrie, *An Illustrated History of Missouri*, p. 566; *House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 103; *St. Louis Enquirer*, Nov. 4, 1820.)

⁴⁶Darby, *Personal Recollections* p. 33; *House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, pp. 38-103.

⁴⁷*St. Louis Enquirer*, Nov. 4, 1820; *St. Louis Missouri Gazette*, Nov. 8, 1820; *House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 103; *Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 82.

been depended on, then Benton's vote, all members other than Ralls voting as they did, would have been 26. On the other hand, if Ralls had been present, and Marie P. Leduc had not voted for Benton, 27 votes would have been necessary to elect, and even with Ralls' vote, Benton would have polled but 26 votes, assuming all other voters to have voted as they did. So close was the election, so dramatic the casting of Ralls' vote, and so intense the feeling, in all probability, that it may have seemed that the vote of Daniel Ralls was the one which elected Benton. That the vote of Ralls and of all other Benton men was important to the election of Benton cannot be denied.

Darby's version of Ralls' part in this election, much of which can be verified by other sources, is as follows:

....So soon as the two houses had met in joint session...four large, stout negro men were taken up stairs into the sick member's room, and by direction they seized hold of the bed—one at each corner—on which the prostrate member lay, and brought it down stairs and laid Ralls down in the middle of the hall wherein the two houses of the General Assembly had met. Ralls was too sick even to raise his head, but when his name was called, voted for Thomas H. Benton; which being done, the four negro men took him up stairs to his room, where he died. For this last act of his life, the legislature, at the same session did Mr. Ralls the honor to name a county after him—Ralls County—one of the oldest counties in the State.⁴⁸

An examination of the *House Journal* throws some interesting light on the legislative career of Daniel Ralls. Furthermore, in some cases, it substantiates Darby's story, and in other instances, brings to light a few errors. The *Journal* shows that James Johnson and Daniel Ralls, members from what was then Pike county, were present at the opening of the first General Assembly, in the Missouri Hotel⁴⁹ at St. Louis on September 18, and voted during the organization of the House.⁵⁰ On September 21, Ralls' certificate of election was certified.⁵¹ The next day Ralls was appointed to a standing committee on claims, and his name is also recorded as voting

⁴⁸Darby, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 32-3.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵⁰*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, pp. 3f.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 14.

in an election for an assistant clerk.⁵² On September 23, both Ralls and Johnson were appointed to a committee to inquire into the expediency of forming a new county from Pike county.⁵³ This proposed county later was given the name of Ralls.

The *House Journal* does not mention Ralls' name from September 23 until he voted in the election on October 2, and it seems a reasonable conclusion that he was sick much of the time intervening, if not for the entire period. From the date of the senatorial election until his death was announced on October 31, there is nothing in the *Journal* to show that Ralls again occupied his seat in the House of Representatives. On October 4, a vote was taken in the House, but Ralls' name does not appear.⁵⁴ On October 18, another roll call reports Ralls as absent with leave.⁵⁵

THE DEATH OF DANIEL RALLS

On October 31,⁵⁶ Representative Johnson of Pike county notified the House that Daniel Ralls had died. On motion of Mr. Johnson the House resolved to attend the funeral of Ralls that day at 4 p. m. and as a testimony of respect, the House members resolved to wear black crape on their left arms for thirty days.⁵⁷ Similar resolutions passed the Senate on the same day.⁵⁸ A committee of three, including Johnson, Morgan Wright and William Smith, was appointed by the House to arrange Ralls' funeral.⁵⁹ All three of these men had voted for Benton for Senator.⁶⁰

As the exact date of Daniel Ralls' death has not been known previously, and as certain material was printed which verifies part of Darby's story of Ralls' part in the election, it

⁵²*Ibid.*, pp. 16, 22.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁴*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 41.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 103, says Oct. 24, but this is wrong; *Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 82, gives the correct date.

⁵⁷*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 103.

⁵⁸*Senate Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 82.

⁵⁹*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 103.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.

has been thought best to print this notice in full. Ralls' obituary shows that he died at Col. Benton's home in St. Louis instead of in the Missouri Hotel as Darby says; and it partly confirms Darby's story that Ralls had to be taken to the legislative hall to cast his vote. The obituary, poem and footnotes printed below in 8-point type, are given as they appeared in the *St. Louis Enquirer* of November 4, 1820. It should be remembered that the *Enquirer* was partly owned by Thomas Hart Benton.

DIED—On Monday evening last [October 30]⁶¹ at Col. Benton's in this place, Capt. *Daniel Rolls*, [sic] a member of the Missouri Legislature from Pike county; those who were more intimately acquainted with the deceased speak in very high terms of him as an honest and worthy citizen.

If the Editors of the St. Louis Enquirer deem the following Lines worthy of a place in their paper, they are at liberty to make use of them. Let their poetical merits or demerits be what they may, they are the genuine effusions of the heart.

—A. U.⁶²

A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF
CAPTAIN DANIEL ROLLS [sic]

If Virtue and Friendship could save
Their vot'ries from Death and the Grave;

If Affection's deep anguish, her pray'r, and her tear
Could rescue from fell Fate, mortality's heir:
O Then! these warm sorrows which lave the pale cheek
Of the victim of woe would not pity bespeak!
But his life should be long; Virtue, Friendship rejoice,
And Love should unite her sweet heart-cheering voice.

But oh! 'tis humanity's doom:
Equality dwells in the tomb.

There the noble, the wise, the good, and the great
Descend to the level of vice: Such is Fate!
Liv'd there ever a man whose zeal in the cause
Of his Friend and his Country, his State and her Laws
More justly deserv'd that her sons should deplore
Rolls [sic] lives to develope his virtues no more?

⁶¹Editor's note.

⁶²"A. U." could have possibly been Benton himself.

When rack'd by disease in his litter he lay,
 He was borne in that litter* the tribute to pay
 To his Friend, his lov'd Country, while Senate beheld
 The last moments of Chatham† by Rolls [sic] parrellel'd.
 He died in the prime of his virtues and bloom,
 And the sons of Missouri have bent o'er his tomb,
 Grief choakes my voice, grief my press'd bosom fill,
 Fast flow tears from my heart—my lyre be still!

—A. U.

For the first time, on November 4, five days after the death of Daniel Ralls, the House designated the new county to be formed from Pike county by the name of Ralls.⁶³ On November 7, the House sent the Ralls county bill to the Senate⁶⁴ and on November 14 the bill was signed and sent to the governor,⁶⁵ who signed the bill creating the county in honor of Daniel Ralls, on November 16, 1820.⁶⁶

*Alluding to a circumstance which occurred during his last illness, when contrary to the advice of his physicians, he insisted on being carried to the legislative hall, for the express purpose of voting for Colonel Benton and Judge Barton, as Senators for the state of Missouri in Congress. Leaning on the supporting arm of the friend who accompanied him, the dying patriot with a determined serious look, and in an energetic tone, said to him "If I should faint in the house, endeavour to recover me there, and by no means take me out before I have given my vote."

†William Pitt, first earl of Chatham, was borne in a litter to the British house of lords being in a dying state, and having made one of the most eloquent and impressive speeches ever heard by that illustrious body, against employing Hessians and Indians in the war with the American colonies, fell down in a fit, was carried out, and shortly after expired.

⁶³*House Journal*, 1st G. A., 1st Sess., 1820, p. 119.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 136, 140.

⁶⁶*Acts of the First General Assembly*, 1820, pp. 17-18.

BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK

BY ROBERT A. AUSTIN¹

Our army, which was encamped nine miles southwest of Springfield on the evening of the 9th, August, 1861, received orders to march toward that place at 9 o'clock in order to attack on the following morning Gen. Lyon who had under his command 15,000 men.²

We had not advanced over a mile when the indications for a storm became so great that our men were ordered to dismount and to secure their ammunition in their saddle blankets. In this position we remained until daybreak when we were ordered back to our camps.

When the "forward movement" commenced, our picket guards were ordered in and we, expecting to move at any moment, the pickets were not sent out again. Our men, having lost a night's sleep, when they reached their camps fell, many of them, upon the ground and were soon asleep. Others commenced preparing their breakfast while many others went off to graze their horses. Under these circumstances Gen. Lyon attacked our encampment at break of day. The surprise was a complete one: The attack was made simultaneously at four different points: Gen. Lyon on the west; Gen. Sigel on the south; Gen. Sturgis on the north and Gen. Sweeney on the east. It seemed for a while as if confusion and disorder would prevail but our men in hot haste soon formed for the battle.

The forces engaged upon the side of the South did not, I think, exceed 8,000 men.³ The Federals also having the advantage in position and heavy artillery. The Louisiana troops,

¹Reverend Robert A. Austin of Carrollton, Missouri, was a chaplain in Gen. Slack's Division. He was an eyewitness of the battle of Wilson's Creek. The foregoing is a copy of his original description written the day after the battle. It was submitted for publication in the *Review* by his son, Dr. C. S. Austin of Carrollton, Missouri. Footnote references have been added by the Editor.

²According to Sneed, Thomas L., *The Fight for Missouri*, p. 310, the Union forces numbered 5,400.

³Sneed, *The Fight for Missouri*, p. 312, gives the Confederate strength as 10,175, including the Missouri State Guard.

the Arkansas, the Texans and Missourians stood side by side and fought only as men can fight when fighting for their honor and their homes. For six long hours the harvest of death went on. Seven times Lyon was repulsed from the western heights by the Missouri and Arkansas forces and seven times he regained his position. He had a strong force of regulars posted with Totten's battery around his person. Gen. Slack's division of less than 1,000 men bore the brunt of the fight for over an hour against Lyon with 5,000 men and was finally relieved by the Louisiana troops and Gen. Weightman's brigade of Missouri forces. Gen. Slack while bravely urging on his men fell severely wounded. Gen. Price received a slight wound upon the left side which did not render him unfit for active service. He won for himself that day laurels unfading. Gen. Weightman fell mortally wounded in the hottest of the battle. His loss will be felt by every true Missourian. Col. Brown of Ray was killed. Col. Austin of Utica was shot through with a grapeshot at the first of the engagement and afterward found with his throat cut. Gen. McCulloch [McCulloch] conducted himself in a way that fully sustained the high reputation which he has so long possessed as a military officer. He would coolly ride up in full view of the enemy lines and carefully examine their position, then galloping away we would soon see a battery planted there and sending in quick succession among them the hot messengers of death. Again he might be seen directing a charge upon the enemy battery in which he never failed. He escaped unhurt.

It was when Gen. Slack's division charged Totten's battery in front and the Arkansas regiment on the right flank that Gen. Lyon made his last desperate stand and here he fell mortally wounded. He was shot through the heart. Slack's brigade and Churchill's and McIntosh's Arkansas regiments suffered severely. After the wounded had accumulated, it became my duty to assist at the hospital. While there, engaged in relieving as far as possible the sufferings of the wounded, an act of barbarity presented itself which I consider without parallel in the history of civilized warfare. We had near 50 wounded collected near the edge of the water when the enemy forced their line of battle near us and in full

sight upon the side of the hill. We immediately hoisted several hospital flags that they might know our business, but notwithstanding this and notwithstanding there was a number of their own wounded in our hospital who were being tenderly cared for, they turned their battery upon us and killed numbers of men and horses around us. One of our surgeons was shot down at my side. Several of our men were found dead upon the field with their hands tied behind them. By hoisting a Secession flag the enemy succeeded in decoying some of our men into their ranks and about 40 in this way were taken prisoners. Never has a greater victory crowned the efforts of the friends of liberty. It is impossible in one short sketch to give all the particulars. We have gained a glorious victory. Officers and men fought with undaunted bravery. The loss on our side is 300 killed⁴ and 700 wounded.⁵ Of this number 176 killed and 514 wounded⁶ were Missourians. The loss of the enemy was 1,500 killed⁷ and from 2,000 to 2,500 wounded.⁸ We captured 400 prisoners, 13 pieces of their best cannon and 4,000 or 5,000 stand of small arms.

The scene which the battlefield presented after the fighting ceased mars all description. On the evening of the battle a flag of truce was sent in by the enemy and they asked permission to gather up their dead and wounded. This request of course was granted them.

Near 20 wagons were kept busily running during the afternoon until dark and by the next day the battlefield became so offensive that they abandoned their object and at present hundreds of their dead lie rotting upon the field. Besides these can be seen hundreds of dead horses scattered thickly over the field. Our dead were all carefully and decently buried upon the bank of Wilson Creek. Our wounded were all taken to Springfield where all are being tenderly cared for. The most of the wounded on the Federal side have been taken to Springfield and have been carefully provided for. It makes

⁴279; Sneed, *The Fight for Missouri*, p. 312.

⁵51; *Ibid.*

⁶557; *Ibid.*

⁷258; *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁸73; *Ibid.* To this number of wounded, Sneed also adds 186 reported missing.

the heart sad to think of the hearts that have been lacerated with grief and the tears that are being shed; the ties that have been broken and the sufferings that have resulted from this most bloody conflict. May a merciful God interpose and drive back the red cloud of war which hovers over us. May the Angel of Peace which has flapped her wings and left us, once more return to our beautiful and once happy country.

JOSEPH B. McCULLAGH

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

NINTH ARTICLE

MACK IN POLITICS

With the exception of Aaron Burr and his associates in iniquity the United States has not known a more desperate and unscrupulous band of political pirates than Clarkson, Quay and Platt. For no cause at all except such as is decidedly honorable to the President, these party bandits have, by treachery and falsehood, been working day and night for months past in endeavor to defeat him. They stooped to the lowest and most despicable devices to accomplish their designs. Professing a devotion to Blaine which they did not feel, they took advantage of the enfeebled physical and mental condition of that misguided man to induce him to repudiate his announcement of last February that he would not enter the race, and then abandoned him in the most cowardly and perfidious manner in the convention, as the vote revealed. Their intent was to beat Harrison by any means within their reach, even at the sacrifice of the man who in a moment of weakness was so unfortunate as to give ear to their promises and plans. But retribution has come to them. These three men—Clarkson, Quay and Platt—are the most thoroughly beaten and humiliated of all the persons who figured in the Minneapolis assemblage. Not one of them will ever have any influence in Republican councils hereafter.

This indictment of three Republican politicians, of nation-wide prominence, Mr. McCullagh wrote and printed as an editorial in the *Globe-Democrat* at the close of the Republican National Convention of 1892.

THE CONSPIRACY OF 1892

President Harrison was renominated at Minneapolis, receiving nearly 100 votes more than the necessary majority on the first ballot. The *Globe-Democrat* said:

The greatest game in American politics has been played and lost. On Saturday night, just six days ago, the leaders engaged in the anti-Harrison movement received permission from Mr. Blaine to make use of his name. Up to that time Mr. Blaine had refused to do more than listen to their pleadings. His letter to Clarkson declaring that his name would not be presented to the national convention stood as his only authorized expression. It is true that following that letter he was a good listener. He received the party leaders and heard all their arguments. He asked ques-

tions about the situation. He manifested considerable interest in the details of the campaign, but he never told one of the leaders that he would be a candidate. All of last week the game was one of pure bluff. The anti-Harrison people had no candidate. They pretended they had some assurance from Blaine, but it was untrue. When arriving delegates put it to these leaders to declare upon honor that Mr. Blaine was authorizing the use of his name, the answers were evasive. But on Saturday Mr. Blaine sent his resignation of the office of secretary of state to the President and on Saturday night he sent to the leaders of the anti-Harrison movement the full authority to say that he was a candidate.

On Monday of last week Mr. Blaine was still talking as he had talked for months of his unwillingness to be a candidate. But he coupled with this talk a grievance against the President. In his mind there was rankling the words uttered by the President five days before and published broadcast over the country. Mr. Blaine felt that the President's assertion should be repudiated, or in some way recalled. He said it with emphasis. He insisted there was such a thing as a President's loyalty to his Cabinet as well as a Secretary's loyalty to the President. He felt that the language about credit being bestowed unjustly where it did not belong was aimed at him. It hurt him that the President should attribute the Blaine talk to "individual disappointments."

Mr. Blaine expressed his feelings to another member of the Cabinet, knowing that what he said would be repeated to the President. And it was. The President in reply said he could not deny that he had used language which had been made the basis of the publication. He expressed regret that some things he had said had found their way into print. But he declined to take any public step toward denying or retracting what had been attributed to him. All this of course was duly carried back to Mr. Blaine. The Secretary was dissatisfied. He was bitter. Then, taking the cue from the published expressions of the President, three members of the Cabinet in turn gave out for publication their opinions on the situation. A little less guardedly these other Secretaries argued against the credit which had been given to Mr. Blaine for various acts of the Administration and insisted that the public should understand that the President was the only one to whom the honor should be given. These successive thrusts at him moved the Secretary to great indignation and perhaps inspired the human desire for revenge.

On Wednesday of the week preceding the convention Mr. Blaine drove out of Washington to a country place and met Senators Teller and Wolcott and a few other anti-Harrison men. He heard them argue that it was impossible for the President to carry the silver and Pacific Coast States. He heard their proposition to forego their intended fight for silver in the convention if he would permit the use of his name at Minneapolis. Blaine listened carefully, asked questions and discussed the conditions in several States. He promised to take the matter under consideration. That night Teller and Wolcott left for Minneapolis. Mr. Blaine took Thursday and

Friday to think. Saturday he sent his resignation of Secretary of State to the White House, and as soon as it was accepted he authorized the use of his name.

Mr. Blaine did not want the nomination. He put himself in the hands of the anti-Harrison managers hoping the time would come before the balloting when another could be substituted for him. He preferred John Sherman. He was told it was the only way to defeat Harrison and he reasoned himself into a position where he justified himself in becoming a candidate simply to defeat another, in the hope that the nomination would go to a third man.

Through three days the anti-Harrison managers made the most of the pretended Blaine candidacy. On Wednesday night it seemed as if Blaine might be nominated. Then Quay and the others in the plot began to work for transfer of the Blaine strength. They felt of several delegations to make a combination on a third candidate. They made a special and most determined effort with Missouri. They offered the Harrison strength in that State the prestige of going to a third candidate at a critical period. But they mistook their men. Missouri never had a better delegation in a National Republican convention. It was not a delegation of office holders or of small politicians. Its composition was chiefly substantial, conservative business and professional men. They met all overtures with the plain reply that they had come to Minneapolis to give President Harrison a fair trial for renomination and until that had been done they had no idea of considering a third man.

The *Globe-Democrat's* comment after the contest was over, was this:

"The Missouri delegation has reason to be proud of its consistent dignified record. The State has achieved a standing in the Republican party which it never had before."

Upon the close of Mr. Blaine's political career Mr. McCullagh offered this epitaph in the *Globe-Democrat* the morning after the convention:

"Poor 'Ichabod'. His bitterest foe could not desire a more humiliating close to his career.

"So fallen! So lost! The light withdrawn

"Which once he wore!

"The glory from his gray hairs gone

"Forevermore!"

THE GLOBE-DEMOCRAT AND THE POLITICIANS

Between principles and politicians, Mr. McCullagh drew the line early and often. When the campaign of 1878 was opening the *Globe-Democrat* referred to the local Republican organizations:

"The Republicans of St. Louis might as well spare the labor and expense of nominations as to go into the campaign under the auspices of the bummers and barnacles who now constitute the central committee and try to dictate the policy and candidates of the party. A full stop must be put to the career of these men, and the present year is as good as any other for doing this."

In the course of that campaign the *Globe-Democrat* took occasion to express an opinion of the St. Louis congressmen:

"We have three Republicans in the present Congress—they don't amount to much, but 'since God made them we will call them such'."

But notwithstanding these personal allusions, the *Globe-Democrat* went into the local campaign vigorously. It supported the Republican nominees but was much more effective in the ridicule which it bestowed unsparingly upon the Democrats. It dubbed them "the Donnybrookers," the application of which will be better appreciated from this paragraph:

"The story started by some wag that the Democracy of St. Louis mean to put an American on their ticket this fall is wholly without foundation in fact, and was doubtless invented to injure the party. Its absurdity will be more apparent when it is known that of the 100 Knights of St. Patrick not more than two-thirds are now in office and that the outs are all as capable and as eager as the ins. There will be no departure from time-honored custom in this matter."

Upon the *Republican*, Mr. McCullagh bestowed the name of "The Daily Macadamizer" because that paper was devoting a great deal of attention to the candidacy of David H. MacAdam who had been nominated for another term as recorder of deeds. MacAdam was a man of culture who had been city editor of the *Republican* and who had continued to be an editorial contributor after taking office.

Wanted: Three good Republicans to represent St. Louis in Congress. To competent and reliable men permanent situations will be given. Don't apply to the Central Committee, because the members of that body want all the offices themselves, and none of them are competent or reliable.

We presume the three Republican Congressmen from St. Louis are satisfied with their experiments at statesmanship during the session of Congress now coming to a close. We presume they have drawn their pay with great regularity, and one of them, at least, has exhausted a great deal of energy in trying to get his father-in-law a foreign appointment. Beyond these laudable efforts we find nothing in the record which should warrant the people in sending any of them back to Congress.

Our three St. Louis Congressmen are at home again. Their powerful minds, unbent from the lofty requirements of statesmanship, adapt themselves immediately to the prosaic methods of business life. This, we will take occasion to say, is one of the outward and visible signs of inward and invisible greatness.

MACK ON FILLEY

In Chauncey I. Filley, Mr. McCullagh found a perennial source of inspiration for paragraphs. Mr. Filley was postmaster at St. Louis when Mr. McCullagh became editor of the *Globe-Democrat*. He had been mayor of St. Louis in Civil war time. He was for years the head of the Board of Trade. With continuous and engrossing interest in politics, and with extraordinary talent for political organization, he had become the dominant figure in the Republican party in Missouri,—more especially that stronger wing known first as the radical and later as the stalwart. Mr. Filley maintained his leadership in the State and gained national prominence in a series of campaigns. The *Globe-Democrat* kept up almost continual warfare on him and his methods until in 1892, at Minneapolis, Mr. Filley was defeated for Missouri's membership of the National Republican Committee, a position he had held through several administrations.

Mr. Filley never sued for peace but fought back, defying the *Globe-Democrat* in letters of great length and original composition, which he personally pounded out on his typewriter and sent to Democratic newspapers. Sometimes the McCullagh paragraph provoked the Filley letter. As often, the paragraph was the sequence of some utterance or act of the boss. From his experience as war correspondent, and from

his close-up observation at Washington of political methods, Mr. McCullagh brought to the *Globe-Democrat* a spirit of editorial independence. The marvel to the public was that the *Globe-Democrat* flourished in opposition to the machine control of the party and that Mr. Filley held his control of the organization so long against the opposition of the newspaper.

Mr. Cheeky I. Filley says he is going to sue somebody for his character. He will do nothing of the kind. He has no character to lose, except a very bad one. He is a political deadbeat and an infamous and villainous liar.

Chauncey I. Filley sticks his head out from under forty-odd thousand votes which were cast against him last spring to tell the mayor what to do about the gas bill. "Do you hear this fellow in the cellar-age?" as my Lord Hamlet says, when he heard the voice of his lamented father's ghost from under the stage.

If Chauncey I. Filley will lift the tail of his coat he will find that he was kicked yesterday.

In the year 1, the Almighty sent for me and told me he intended to make a world. I gave him some plans and suggestions which were immediately adopted. In some respects, however, my advice was not followed, hence a number of imperfections have since been observed in the universe. (Forthcoming letter of Crankey I. Filley.)

The *Republican* makes a charge of plagiarism against the *Globe-Democrat* because in an article of a column length of Mr. Cheeky I. Filley we use twenty words from Macaulay without credit. Well, when Macaulay used the phrase, he was gunning for bears; when we borrowed it we were gunning for skunks, and we were ashamed to put the label on the ammunition.

Mr. Filley has his faults, but he has at least one trait of character that challenges admiration. He is probably the most malicious liar in St. Louis; he is undoubtedly one of the greatest poltroons in America; if he is not a common swindler his own blood relations do him gross injustice; he will, for the sake of a paltry office, dive deeper into the dirt of personal humiliation than any other living man; he has not the semblance of a sense of personal honor; the qualities which are the objects of hatred, and the qualities which are the proper objects of contempt, are evenly and exquisitely balanced in him; if hell were dosed with tartar emetic, the last dregs of its last vomit would be a few men of his kind.

The new year starts out badly. A terrible railroad accident and a letter from Filley on the same day. Poor little 1884.

"The Republican party has great need of Filley," says one of his admiring newspaper friends. Yes, just as much as the passenger on the rear platform of a street car has for a fan with the thermometer twenty degrees below zero.

Mr. Filley's latest epistolary effusion is addressed to the editor of the *Globe-Democrat*. The post-diluvian abridgment of the period of human existence renders it impossible to read Mr. Filley's letters in full. We have, however, glanced at this one, and we find in its very center an observation worthy of note. Mr. Filley accuses the editor of the *Globe-Democrat* of absentsing himself from the councils and conventions of the Republican party. To which a plea of guilty is at once entered. "You (we) have been missed," he says. Chauncey, go and do likewise. Get yourself missed, and the Republican party may be happy yet.

Filley grows cheaper, as he grows older. He got \$6,000 out of Old Pills, but not half that much from Young Options.

We are somewhat astonished, but not at all grieved by the statement in yesterday's *Republic* that Mr. Filley "knows more about Missouri politics in an hour than the St. Louis organ (to wit: the *Globe-Democrat*) has learned in a lifetime." How much political knowledge Mr. Filley can compress into the short period of sixty minutes we have no means of ascertaining, but on one occasion he imparted a good deal of information to the Postmaster General in a very few lines thus: "I dare not tell you on paper, but will when I see you, how I captured the *Republican*, and made it come begging. Chauncey I. Filley."

EXIT THE MISSOURI BOSS

The collapse of the Clarkson-Quay-Platt conspiracy against Harrison was not the only satisfaction Mr. McCullagh realized from the Minneapolis convention. The Missouri delegation, which turned down the proffered leadership in the planned treachery toward the President, deposed Chauncey I. Filley from the head of the Republican organization in Missouri. Mr. Filley had been the Missouri member of the National Republican committee through campaign after campaign. He had distributed postmasterships and other Federal appointments. He had controlled conventions, had dictated nominations, had built and maintained a powerful political machine which antagonized the independent Republican elements in the State. The *Globe-Democrat* had opposed Mr. Filley's methods. Mr. McCullagh dealt unsparingly with the boss.

There was excitement enough at Missouri headquarters to-day. The Filley men at an early hour learned of a caucus at which eighteen of the thirty-four delegates had decided to support Mr. Kerens for national committeeman. Neither Kerens nor Warner was in the caucus. The news set the Filley people wild. The Missouri headquarters and the adjacent corri-

dors were filled with the friends of Kerens and Filley. Hard words were exchanged. It looked as if there might be a small riot. In the midst of the strain Henry C. Meyer of St. Louis, a well known politician and Filley man, fell like a log. He was carried into a room where he could be given air and restoratives. But he did not revive. Doctors were sent for. A stretcher was improvised and Meyer was carried to a quieter part of the hotel. The committee went into executive session. All was quiet for a few minutes. Then, floating through the transom, came the sounds of oratory. Ex-Congressman Niedringhaus offered the name of Chauncey I. Filley for member of the national committee. He said this would give great satisfaction to the Germans of Missouri, who had voted steadily for the Republican ticket and who had received very little recognition. Delegate Bell of Boonville put R. C. Kerens in nomination. Henry Lamm, of Sedalia, spoke earnestly. He said he had been voting the Republican ticket twenty-five years in Missouri, during which time he had been hearing continually about Filley getting up or getting down, and that kind of politics he was tired of. He thought time had come for some other issue besides Filleyism, and he was for a new man. Mr. Lamm was vigorously applauded, but the speech brought "the old man" to his feet. He talked loud enough to be heard in St. Paul. His face was livid and he was mad to the heart. For ten minutes he shouted out what he had done for the party, and denounced all who opposed him. He rang the changes on regularity and harmony. When Mr. Filley sat down Delegate John B. Hale moved that further action in regard to the selection be deferred until ten o'clock tomorrow morning. The motion was carried, and the doors were thrown open.

While the distribution of tickets was going on among the Missouri delegates, Henry Lamm, the Sedalia lawyer, approached Mr. Filley on the subject of the remarks he had made in the meeting of the delegation. "I didn't say you had been a disorganizer," said Mr. Lamm. "I said that I was tired of hearing so much for and against you in Republican politics, and I was in favor of a new man."

"I hain't been telling," said the old man, firing up, "but I'm going to tell now." Then he began:

"I saw the game you fellows tried to put up in here awhile ago," said he. "I've stood this thing as long as I'm going to. I'm tired of it."

"I know you're tired, Mr. Filley," said Mr. Lamm in a soothing tone, "and I think you have earned a good, long, quiet resting."

At the top of his voice Filley fairly yelled: "If you fellows make me rest you'll make 50,000 Republicans rest with me. You talk about factions! There are no factions in St. Louis. I tell you there are not five Republicans who are not with me."

The outburst of temper drew a crowd, and intensified the feeling in the delegation that the time had come to dispense with Old Regularities. The worst blow to Filley came in the afternoon. Twenty friends of the old man, about half of the delegates, gathered in caucus. Some of them had previously conferred with anti-Filley delegates, and had discussed the

probability of agreement on somebody who would heal differences. This proposition was broached in the Filley caucus. It threw Filley into another towering passion. He raved about his services to the party and stormed about the idea of compromise. Mr. Niedringhaus tried to calm Filley. He argued that it was the duty of Missouri Republicans to get together and that a continuance of feuds would endanger the bright prospects for Major Warner's election. But the more the ex-Congressman tried to pour oil on the troubled waters, the more Filley blazed. Mr. Niedringhaus finally exclaimed, in disgust: "Mr. Filley, I'm for you no longer."

When they came to it in the morning the Missouri delegates settled the selection of a national committeeman quickly. But one ballot was taken. It resulted in the election of Mr. Kerens, 19 to 13. Mr. Filley accepted the situation with a kind of suave resignation, and said grimly:

"This cements us. We have got those fellows in St. Louis where we can hold them now. It is better than to take a man from the country. We will run the city. They will run the state. There will be no throat-cutting."

THE LAST WORD

Strange to tell, after carrying on this newspaper-political feud through twenty years, Mr. McCullagh and Mr. Filley became friends. Their fighting qualities seemed to have begotten a measure of respect for each other's personalities. They formed the custom of meeting at the St. Louis Club afternoons about the dinner hour. During two years preceding the death of Mr. McCullagh these meetings were of quite regular occurrence. When the editor was confined to his room the retired political boss, who the public supposed was an implacable enemy, was a caller.

"We often met in the last two years in friendly personal conferences and were personal friends," Mr. Filley said. "Our meetings were at the St. Louis Club and consequently unknown publicly. He will be missed throughout the country. Journalism loses one of its brightest lights. Socially, he was genial and kind; politically, erratic."

Probably those last two words were to be expected from a political leader of the old school. Journalism may see in the McCullagh paragraphic treatment of Filley the dawn of

metropolitan newspaper independence of political bosses. Research in the field of Missouri politics may find in the relation of the *Globe-Democrat* and Filley, 1875-1892, statistics which retarded Republican success at the polls.

THE ST. LOUIS POSTMASTERSHIP FIGHT

Personal journalism reached concert pitch in St. Louis during the late seventies and early eighties. John Knapp, business manager of the *Republican*, met John Hodnett, business manager of the *Times*, in Milford's oyster bay one evening and hurled a soup plate at him. Hodnett replied in kind. John N. Edwards of the *Dispatch* and Emory S. Foster of the *Journal* went all of the way to Winnebago county on the northern edge of Illinois and exchanged "high line" shots, as the expert seconds officially reported the bloodless duel. Joe Pulitzer,—he became Joseph Pulitzer some years later, shot Augustine in the leg for casting aspersions on his reportorial honor. Bill Hyde met Mr. Pulitzer on Olive street, in front of the Ottawa beer stand, and struck at him, knocking off his glasses. When the editor of the *Post-Dispatch* had recovered his sight from the gutter, Mr. Hyde was some distance up the street. Stilson Hutchins addressed a series of open letters in the *Times* "to George and John Knapp and to William Hyde, their man servant and their ass!" Such were journalistic amenities of those halcyon days in St. Louis.

And the unpleasantries exchanged between the editorial pages of the *Globe-Democrat* and the *Republican* entitled Mr. McCullagh and Mr. Hyde to the past master's degree in the paragraphing art. Yet when Mr. Hyde gave up the editorship of the *Republican*, Mr. McCullagh came to his rival's defense in a notable crisis. This was in the long drawn-out contest over the St. Louis postmastership.

The Cleveland administration began in March, 1885. Half-a-dozen hopeful candidates announced for the St. Louis appointment. The campaign went on month after month with repeated trips to Washington by candidates and their sponsors. But by October the race was narrowed to two,—William Hyde and John G. Priest. "More Hyde!" com-

mented President Cleveland as one batch of letters and telegrams was delivered to him by a St. Louis caller at the White House when this deluge of indorsements had been coming six months. No wonder! The papers on the St. Louis postmastership outnumbered and outweighed, avoirdupois, those in any other case of patronage before the President that year. It is doubtful if that accumulation was ever exceeded in the history of St. Louis office seeking. "A hell's mint of 'em," Congressman O'Neil called one collection of Hyde indorsements he turned in at the Post Office Department. It included letters from St. Louis clergymen, bankers, lawyers, merchants, manufacturers, to say nothing of politicians of high and low degree. And for John G. Priest there was like support in numbers and variety. Priest had been active in national politics. He had represented Missouri eight years on the National Democratic committee. He had raised \$20,000 for the campaigns of Tilden, Hancock, and Cleveland. A letter from Vice-President Hendricks was among Priest's papers. Postmaster General Vilas was for Priest. So was the President's secretary, Mr. Lamont. Priest was backed by prominent Democrats in the East. From the *Republican*, "the leading organ of the Democracy in the West and South," it was said the President received a letter signed John J. Knapp in behalf of Priest. St. Louisans without regard to party gave the President their expressions of preference as between Mr. Hyde and Mr. Priest. But some went farther. There was "con" as well as "pro." Nasty charges were filed as the contest grew bitter. The Post Office Department's attention was called to litigation against Mr. Priest. A suit was pending for recovery of money, several thousand dollars, Priest was said to have received as a director in one insurance company to consolidate or reinsure in another. Judgment had been given in a lower court but reversed in a higher on the ground that the money if paid had not come from the assets of the company of which Priest was a director. Nevertheless, Congressman Glover pressed the charges against Priest.

Against Hyde were raised questions as to his personal habits and as to alleged friendly relations with Robert C. Pate, the representative of St. Louis gambling interests and

a political power in St. Louis. As to Hyde's habits, his friend and leading supporter met that with—:

"Well, they would catch most of us if they drew the line too strict on that. All good fellows take an occasional drink. I don't think that will have much effect."

It didn't. But the St. Louis gambling ring! That was of country-wide notoriety. Its influence in Missouri politics had been a great scandal, more than local. A grand jury had recently made a scathing exposure. The foreman of that grand jury was Joseph B. McCullagh. At the critical time in the postmastership contest, friends of Hyde carried to Washington a letter from Mr. McCullagh stating that the thorough investigation made by the grand jury established that William Hyde was in no way connected with the gambling interests. Mr. McCullagh went even further. He printed in the *Globe-Democrat* this editorial vindication of Mr. Hyde:

"Somebody has, it seems, sent to Washington a mass of documents intended to injure Mr. Hyde's chances for postmaster by connecting him with R. C. Pate and the gambling ring of some years ago. This is all rot. The editor of the *Globe-Democrat* was foreman of the grand jury which investigated the gambling business in 1879, and he is ready to give Mr. Hyde a certificate that after the most searching investigation, not a single fact to his discredit was brought forth. Other members of the 'Big Twelve,' as that somewhat famous body was called, will, no doubt, do the same thing."

Shortly after this publication, Mr. Hyde was appointed postmaster. Later, on the suggestion of Mr. McCullagh, Mr. Hyde contributed to the *Globe-Democrat* a valuable addition to Missouri history in the form of his reminiscences as a reporter and editor of the *Republican*.

The postmastership fight split wide open the St. Louis Democracy for a while. Mr. McCullagh dubbed one side "The Colonels" and the other side "The Kids." The division caught popular fancy. Dispatches from Washington told of the doings of the Colonels and the Kids. With editorial paragraphs and cartoons, Mr. McCullagh egged on the political rivalry. Papers outside of St. Louis found this an

extraordinary phase of the patronage situation at Washington and joined in the hilarious publicity.

In the midst of it all a St. Louis delegation calling on Postmaster General Vilas was shown a telegram received by him that morning from Congressman John M. Glover saying he had "bought the *Republican*." The news jarred the Colonels for in those days the influence of "Old 1808" in matters of distribution of the offices was mighty. James O. Broadhead, who had been hailed by the Colonels as of cabinet size when Mr. Cleveland was making up his list in the winter of 1885, and who was later looked upon as likely to be tendered a diplomatic appointment, was in Washington when the Glover dud fell. He commented on the news with the remark that he didn't know whether he would be allowed to return to St. Louis if the report was true. But Glover had been oversanguine in his negotiations. There had been no delivery of the *Republican* newspaper to the Kids.

(To be continued.)

MISSOURIANA

The New England Heritage of Missouri
Jenny Lind in St. Louis
When Missouri Had Only One Senator
Paper Mill
How the Pioneer Dressed
Advertisements in the Pioneer Press

THE NEW ENGLAND HERITAGE OF MISSOURI**FIRST ARTICLE**

In area, the six states that make up New England could be dropped within the limits of the State of Missouri with enough room left over to include a space larger than the State of Delaware. Yet this small section called New England, comprising the northeastern part of the United States, has contributed to Missouri an imposing list of persons who have become important figures in the history of the State. In this paper is related the careers of fifty-one New Englanders who have left a deep impress on the history of Missouri.

The nativity of Missourians has been extensively diversified. From Virginia and the Carolinas, from Kentucky, Tennessee, and many other states, have come the people that settled this State and made Missouri history. But the contributions of some sections of the country to Missouri history are not well known, which is the case as regards New England. The following resume, then, while by no means intended to be an exhaustive list of prominent New Englanders in Missouri, should serve to indicate the extent of the little known debt which Missouri owes to one section of the United States.

Of the fifty-one New Englanders in Missouri who are mentioned here, only one was a woman. Connecticut, the second smallest state of New England, leads the list of fifty-one persons with a total of 16. On the other extreme is Rhode Island, which has not contributed one person to the list of fifty-one. Massachusetts is second with 12, Vermont is third with 11, Maine is fourth with 8, and New Hampshire is fifth with 4.

Only one New Englander has ever become governor of the State of Missouri, and only one has become United States senator from this State. Seven New Englanders have served in Congress from Missouri, one of whom was also the only Missouri governor from there, and another of whom was the only Missouri lieutenant-governor from New England. Four men on the list of fifty-one sat on the Supreme Court of Missouri. Three others have served as presidents of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Among the others mentioned in this article, are found lawyers and judges, artists and authors, clergymen and educators, pioneers, soldiers and newspaper editors.

The heritage of New England to Missouri is a rich one. The careers of the fifty-one persons given here run intimately through the field of Missouri history. Without them, Missouri's history would be a story vastly different than it is today.

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut leads the list of New England states in the number of adopted Missourians with sixteen. It was this state that gave what is now Missouri her first American territorial governor, her only New England-state governor, her greatest educator, and many other prominent persons.

Moses Austin, originator of the plan to colonize Texas, lies buried today at Potosi, Missouri. He was a native of Durham, Connecticut, born in 1761. He visited the lead district of Southeast Missouri in 1796-7 and obtained a Spanish grant to lands in what is now Washington county. Potosi is on or near this grant. Austin was one of the organizers of the Bank of St. Louis in 1816, the first bank in Missouri. The failure of the bank in 1819 wiped out the Austin fortune, and Moses Austin made plans to colonize Texas. He visited there in 1820-21, obtained permission to settle families there, and returned to Missouri. He caught pneumonia, however, and died in Missouri on June 10, 1821. His son, Stephen F. Austin, carried out the colonization plans of the father, and is known as the founder of Texas.

Amos Stoddard, the first governor of Upper Louisiana,

which included what is now Missouri, was a native of New England; born October 26, 1762, at Woodbury, Connecticut. He served in the Revolution, was clerk of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and practiced law at Hallowell, in what is now Maine. He became a captain in the army, and on March 9, 1804, at St. Louis, acted as commissioner of France and the United States in the transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States from the Spanish officials. He thus became first governor of Upper Louisiana. He later attained the rank of major and was wounded at Fort Meigs, Ohio, where he died on May 11, 1813, during the War of 1812.

Stephen Hempstead was born at New London, Connecticut, May 6, 1754. He served in the Revolution, and migrated to Missouri in 1811 at the age of 57. The arrival of the party of twenty under Hempstead was an event long talked of in St. Louis. Hempstead took a prominent part in promoting the Presbyterian church in early Missouri. As a Revolutionary war soldier, Hempstead rode in the same carriage with Gen. Lafayette when the latter visited St. Louis in 1825. Stephen Hempstead died on his farm near St. Louis on October 3, 1831. One of his sons, Edward, became attorney-general of Louisiana Territory and first delegate in Congress from Missouri Territory. Another son, Stephen, Jr., was a fur trader in the early days. A daughter, Susan, married Col. Henry Gratiot.

Edward Hempstead was born at New London, Connecticut, June 3, 1780, and was admitted to the bar in 1801. He came to what is now Missouri in 1804, settling at St. Charles and then at St. Louis. He held the offices of deputy attorney-general, and later, attorney-general of Louisiana Territory. From 1812 to 1814, he was the first delegate in Congress from Missouri Territory. In 1814 he was the speaker of the Territorial Assembly. He died August 9, 1817, as the result of a fall from a horse. He was the son of Stephen Hempstead, Sr.

Rufus Easton is called the greatest lawyer of territorial Missouri. He was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, May 4, 1774. He came to St. Louis in 1804, and the next year was

appointed one of the first three judges of the Territory of Louisiana, which included what is now Missouri. He later became United States attorney, served four years as Missouri territorial delegate in Congress, and was the first postmaster of St. Louis. From 1821 to 1826, Easton served as the second attorney-general of Missouri. He died at St. Charles, Missouri, July 5, 1834.

The Rev. Salmon Giddings was the first Presbyterian missionary to remain continuously in Missouri, and he founded the first Presbyterian church in Missouri, and the first in St. Louis. He was born at Hartford, Connecticut on March 2, 1782, and came to St. Louis in 1816. In Washington county, Missouri, that year, he organized the first Presbyterian church in Missouri, and another one in St. Louis county. In 1817 he organized in St. Louis the first Presbyterian, as well as the first Protestant church in that city. He died at St. Louis on February 1, 1828.

The Rev. John Mason Peck was born October 31, 1789, at Litchfield, South Farms, Connecticut. He came to Missouri in 1817, and in 1818 the first Baptist church in St. Louis was organized. He also conducted a school at St. Louis. He died March 15, 1858, and is buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery at St. Louis.

John Smith Phelps, the only governor of Missouri from New England, and also a representative in Congress from Missouri, was born in Simsbury, Hartford county, Connecticut, December 22, 1814. He graduated from Trinity College at Hartford in 1832. He was admitted to the bar in 1835 and moved to Springfield, Missouri, in 1837. He served in the Missouri General Assembly, was congressman from 1845 to 1863, and attained the rank of colonel in the Union army during the Civil War. President Lincoln appointed him military governor of Arkansas in July, 1862. He resumed law practice in Springfield and in 1868 was defeated as democratic candidate for governor. He was governor of Missouri from 1877 to 1881. He resumed the practice of law and died at St. Louis, Missouri, November 20, 1886, with burial at Springfield. Gov. Phelps was the son of Elisha Phelps, a congressman from Connecticut, and a native of that state.

Judge Philemon Bliss was born at North Canton, near Hartford, Connecticut, July 28, 1813. His early life was spent in Connecticut, New York, Florida, and Ohio. He was elected to Congress from Ohio, and was also a circuit judge in that state. President Lincoln appointed him chief justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Dakota in 1861. In 1864, he removed to St. Joseph, Missouri. He became probate judge of Buchanan county, and was appointed a curator of the University of Missouri. In 1868 he was elected to the Supreme Court of Missouri and served four years. In 1873, he became first dean of the School of Law of the University of Missouri. He was the author of several works on law subjects. Judge Bliss died at St. Paul, Minn., August 25, 1889, and is buried in the Columbia Cemetery at Columbia, Missouri.

Judge Rufus Pettibone was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, May 26, 1784. He graduated from Williams College in 1805 and came to Missouri in 1818. He was appointed a circuit judge in 1821 and a Supreme Court judge in 1823. Judge Pettibone and Henry S. Geyer prepared the Missouri Revised Statutes of 1825, and Pettibone died July 21, 1825.

Brigadier-General Nathaniel Lyon was born at Ashford, Windham county, Connecticut, July 14, 1819. When 18 years of age he entered West Point, graduating with distinction in 1841. He fought in the Seminole war and for gallantry during the Mexican war he was made a brevet captain, and in 1851 became a full captain. He was later stationed at Fort Riley (Kansas), and was there when ordered to proceed with his company to the St. Louis Arsenal, where he took command on March 13, 1861. Through his prompt action during the early stages of the Civil war in Missouri, Lyon was largely instrumental in saving Missouri to the Union. He captured Camp Jackson at St. Louis on May 10, 1861, was made a brigadier-general soon afterward, and on May 31, 1861, took command of the Department of the West. He captured Jefferson City, fought the battle of Boonville, the first in Missouri during the war, and on August 10, 1861, was killed

leading his troops in the battle of Wilson's Creek. General Lyon was buried at Phoenixville, near Eastford, Windham county, Connecticut.

William Torrey Harris was born at North Killingly, Connecticut, September 10, 1835. He attended Yale College, and came to St. Louis in 1857. There he attained national fame as superintendent of the St. Louis public schools. He helped found the St. Louis Philosophical Society in 1866, became a leader in the St. Louis Movement, and in 1867 he founded and edited the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. He was a national leader in educational circles, and the recipient of six honorary degrees, including the LL. D. degree granted by the University of Missouri in 1870. From 1889 until his resignation in 1906, Dr. Harris was United States commissioner of education. He died at Providence, Rhode Island, on November 5, 1909.

Judge Robert B. Middlebrook was born at Trumbull, Connecticut, September 3, 1855. He graduated in law from Yale University in 1878 and came to Kansas City to practice. In 1888 he began a five-year term as assistant city attorney, and in 1897 started a four-year term as city counselor. In 1910-11, he was judge of the circuit court in Kansas City. He died there, July 26, 1921.

Judge E. H. Stiles was born at Granby, Connecticut, in 1835. He came to Iowa in 1857, practiced law, served in the Iowa Senate, and later was a member of the Supreme Court of Iowa. He moved to Kansas City in 1886 where he was associated with T. T. Crittenden and H. C. McDougal. In 1892 he was elected to the circuit court in Kansas City, and the same year became master in chancery of the Federal Court for the Kansas City district. About the last twelve years of his life was spent in California. He died at Pasadena, California, May 9, 1921.

Wesley L. Robertson was born at South Coventry, Connecticut, June 30, 1850. He came to Missouri in 1865, and from 1872 to 1881 he owned the *Princeton Advance*. He also published at various times, papers at Bethany, Unionville, Gallatin, Plattsburg, and West Plains. He repurchased the Gallatin *Democrat* in 1898, and was its publisher

at the time of his death, December 23, 1919. He was president of the Missouri Press Association in 1900-01, and the first president of the Northwest Missouri Press Association.

Walter B. Stevens was president of the State Historical Society of Missouri from 1917 to 1925, and is a native of Meriden, Connecticut, born July 25, 1848. His early life was spent in Illinois, and in 1870 he graduated from the University of Michigan, and two years later obtained the degree of master of arts. He took up newspaper work in St. Louis, and from 1884 to 1901 was Washington correspondent of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. He later served as secretary of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis. He is the author of numerous books and articles, and makes his home at Burdick, Kansas.

(To be continued)

JENNY LIND IN ST. LOUIS

Few events caused more furor in Missouri in 1851 than the visit of the famed singer, Jenny Lind, often called the "Swedish Nightingale," to St. Louis in March of that year. For a week before her arrival St. Louis was crowded with strangers, and the hotels were filled with persons who had come to hear Jenny Lind sing. Every boat landing at the St. Louis levee was crowded with visitors expecting to hear the great singer, and Missourians out over the State were as excited over the event as were the St. Louisans themselves.

Jenny Lind's visit to St. Louis was an incident during her triumphant tour of America in 1850-1852. Her arrival in St. Louis was preceded by that of Sol Smith, proprietor of the St. Louis Theatre, and "Mr. Harrington, Barnum's agent," both of whom came to make arrangements for the singer's concerts there. The Baptist Church at the corner of Fourth and Locust Streets and the Old Theatre were considered as places in which to hold the concerts.

With a suite of between thirty and forty persons, Jenny Lind arrived at St. Louis in the early morning of March 17, on board the steamer *Lexington* from New Orleans. Although

it was about five o'clock when the noted singer left the boat, a large crowd had gathered at the levee, and greeted her with enthusiastic cheers. A carriage drawn by four "milk white" horses, carried her to the Planters Hotel where the singer made her residence while in the city.

Later the same morning, the sale of tickets for Jenny Lind's first concert on Tuesday evening, March 18, took place. As was customary during her American tour, tickets were sold at auction. The first bid on the first ticket at St. Louis was made at \$100, which was raised by a second bidder to \$150, and sold. E. A. Byron won the bid. The regular price of tickets was \$5, but hundreds were sold at premiums. A charge of ten cents was made for every person who entered the hall where the tickets were being sold.

Jenny Lind's appearances at St. Louis were decidedly successful. Following her first concert on March 18, she gave others on March 20 and on March 22. The third concert brought a total of \$9,300 in receipts, making the average cost of a seat in the house about \$9. The third concert was so successful that another was announced for Monday, March 24.

From St. Louis, Jenny Lind proceeded to Nashville, Tennessee, where she arrived on March 29.

WHEN MISSOURI HAD ONLY ONE SENATOR

So fierce was the political feud between the anti-Benton Democrats and the Benton Democrats in Missouri in the 1850's that for a period of nearly two years, Missouri had only one senator in the United States Senate. This unusual political situation was brought about by the inability of either faction of the Democrats to win an election, yet both had it within their power to prevent the other from winning. The Whigs, who might have swung the election, were as equally unyielding, and the result was that no compromise was made, and no senator was elected.

Senator Thomas Hart Benton had been defeated for re-election in 1851 by a combination of Whig and anti-Benton

votes. Henry S. Geyer, a St. Louis Whig, was thus sent to the Senate in place of Benton. In 1855, Senator David R. Atchison, who had joined the anti-Benton men to defeat Benton in 1851, came up for re-election. But Benton was still a strong political factor in Missouri, and Atchison was destined never to be a Missouri senator again.

When the Missouri General Assembly met in joint session to elect a senator on January 4, 1855, David R. Atchison, anti-Benton; Alexander W. Doniphan, Whig; and Benton were the candidates. The first ballot stood: Doniphan, 57; Atchison, 56; Benton, 41. No one being elected, the balloting was resumed. At various sessions from January 4 until February 1, efforts were made to effect an election. The anti-Benton men withdrew Atchison in an effort to break the deadlock, and substituted William Scott and later, Governor Sterling Price. But the party votes remained practically the same. By the time the forty-first, and last, ballot was taken on February 1, the anti-Benton men had returned to Atchison and the vote stood: Atchison, 58; Doniphan, 56; Benton, 38. The General Assembly finally adjourned without electing a senator.

So it was that from March 4, 1855, until January 21, 1857, Henry S. Geyer was the only Missouri senator sitting in Congress.

On January 12, 1857, another joint session of the General Assembly met and James S. Green, an anti-Benton man, was elected senator on the first ballot. On January 21, he took his seat in the United States Senate. By this time the pro-slavery, anti-Benton Democrats were in control of the General Assembly. On the next day after Green's election, January 13, 1857, the anti-Benton Democrats elected Governor Trusten Polk to the other senatorship, for the long term just being completed by Senator Geyer.

Senator Green was succeeded in 1861 by Waldo P. Johnson, who, with the other Missouri senator, Trusten Polk, was expelled from the Senate on January 10, 1862, during the Civil War.

PAPER MILL

What was probably the first paper mill west of the Mississippi river, and undoubtedly the first in Missouri, was established in 1834 at "Rockbridge," the site of a natural bridge about five or six miles south of Columbia in Boone county.

The *Missouri Intelligencer* published at Columbia announced on January 11, 1834, that a paper mill was to be established, and would be in operation between July 20 and August 1, of that year. The owners of the mill were David S. Lamme, William Lamme, John W. Keiser, and Thomas J. Cox. The mill owners advertised in the same issue of the *Intelligencer*, announcing their plans to manufacture paper, and offering to buy rags from which the paper would be made.

The last issue of the *Intelligencer* in 1834, published on December 27, was printed on paper made at the Boone county mill. The mill was hailed as the only establishment of its kind in Missouri or Illinois, and local editors were encouraged to patronize this home concern. Just how many Missouri newspapers bought their newsprint from the mill near Columbia is not known, but the St. Louis *Republican* on September 8, 1835, announced that its issue of that date was being printed on paper made at the Boone county mill. The *Republican* testified to the quality of the local paper by reporting: ". . . the paper will compare advantageously with, if, indeed, it be not superior to, any manufactured west of the mountains."

However, the paper mill was not a remunerative investment, and it enjoyed only a temporary existence.

HOW THE PIONEER DRESSED

"The dress of the pioneers comported well with their style of living. The male portion usually wore an inner shirt of linsey, flannel, cotton or coarse linen, a hunting shirt of some sort of cloth or buckskin, a pair of buckskin or jean pantaloons, a coarse wool hat or a coonskin cap, and a pair of homemade shoes, of home tanned leather. The tanning was

done in a trough dug from the trunk of a tree, and by a decoction or preparation of oak bark.

"The women usually went barefoot in the summer, and in inclement weather wore shoes made of home tanned leather. When they could procure enough calico to make caps for their heads, they were happy, and the woman who could wear a dress made of store goods, was the envy of many of the less favored of her sex. It is said that when the pioneer women first came into possession of a pair of calfskin shoes, they were very careful of them, and wore them only on important occasions. They would walk barefoot, and carry their shoes until within a short distance of the meeting or wedding, or whatever they were attending, and then stop and clothe their feet. This is a story told of all pioneer women, and may or may not be true."

From the *History of Lewis, Clark, Knox and Scotland Counties, Missouri*, (St. Louis and Chicago: The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1887) p. 583.

ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE PIONEER PRESS

PROPOSALS

For carrying the **MAILS** of the United States, on the following post roads, will be received at the **GENERAL POST OFFICE**, in Washington City, until the tenth day of June, next, inclusive.

196. From Kaskaskia,¹ by St. Philip,² Prairie du Rocher,³ and St. Louis, to St. Charles, once a week.

Leave Saint Charles every Thursday at 2 p. m. and arrive at Kaskaskia on Saturday by 6 p. m. Leave Kaskaskia every Sunday at 6 a. m. and arrive at St. Charles on Tuesday by 10 a. m.

197. From Cape Girardot⁴ to New Madrid, once in 2 weeks.

Leave Cape Girardot every other Tuesday at 6 a. m. and arrive at New Madrid on Friday by 10 a. m. Leave New Madrid same day at 2 p. m. and arrive at Cape Girardot on Monday by 6 p. m.

¹Kaskaskia was on the right bank of the Kaskaskia river in Illinois, six or seven miles above its junction with the Mississippi.

²"St. Philippe" was in the American Bottom of Illinois, 45 miles below Cahokia, which was located nearly opposite St. Louis.

³Prairie du Rocher was in the river bottom, 20 miles below "St. Philippe."

⁴Cape Girardeau.

198. Kaskaskia, by Geneva,⁵ Cape Girardot, Tywappety⁶ and Wilkin-sonville,⁷ to Fort Maffac,⁸ once a week.

Leave Kaskaskia every Sunday at 6 a. m. and arrive at Fort Maffac on Wednesday by 10 a. m. Leave Fort Maffac every Wednesday at 1 p. m. and arrive at Kaskaskia on Saturday by 6 p. m.

From the *Missouri Gazette*, St. Louis, May 24, 1809.

MY CREDITORS are hereby notified, that on Saturday the 25th inst. between the hours of ten in the forenoon and three of the clock in the afternoon of said day, I shall make application to James Rankin and David Bryan, Esqrs. two Justices of the peace, in and for the county of Jefferson, at my dwelling house in the town of Herculaneum, in said county, to be permitted to take the benefit of the several laws of this territory concerning imprisonment, when and where you may attend if you think proper.

Moses Austin.⁹

Herculaneum, March 11th, 1820.

From the *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*, St. Louis, March 22, 1820.

⁵Probably Ste. Genevieve.

⁶Tywappety Bottom is located in the present Missouri counties of Scott and Mississippi, nearly opposite the mouth of the Ohio river, between Commerce and Byrd's Point. In 1819, Major Stephen H. Long noted a small settlement there. The name is also spelled Tiwappity, Tyawapatia and Tywapatia. The map in Beck's gazetteer of 1823 shows the settlement as being in Scott county, above the half-way point between Cape Girardeau and the mouth of the Ohio river.

⁷Wilkinsonville was formerly a military post on the Ohio river in Illinois, 25 miles above its junction with the Mississippi. The post was situated on what was called Cedar Bluffs and was deserted in 1823.

⁸Fort Massac was in Illinois on the bank of the Ohio river, nine miles below the mouth of the Tennessee river.

⁹Moses Austin was born at Durham, Conn., in 1761. He engaged in business in Philadelphia and Richmond, Va., and later operated lead mines in southwest Virginia. In 1796-7 he visited the lead mines of southeast Missouri, obtained a grant at Mine a Breton in the present Washington county, and then moved to what is now Missouri. Potosi is on or near this grant obtained by Moses Austin. In 1812 Austin estimated his wealth at \$160,000, most of which was in lead-mining property. His debts, however became pressing. He was one of the organizers of the Bank of St. Louis, the first bank of Missouri, in 1816, and its failure in the summer of 1819 wiped out his whole estate.

The advertisement quoted here reveals a part of the drama of Moses Austin's life that marked the crash of his fortunes. It is probable that after the loss of his property in 1819, Moses Austin conceived the plan of colonizing Texas. He was at San Antonio, Texas, then under the rule of Spain, in December, 1820, and a permit to settle 300 families in Texas was granted him the following January. His return from Texas was attended by hardship and exposure, and Austin later developed pneumonia and died at the home of his daughter in what is now St. Francois county, Missouri, on June 10, 1821. He is buried at Potosi.

Stephen F. Austin, son of Moses, carried out the colonization plan of his father, and is now known as the founder of Texas. The son also figured prominently in the affairs of early Missouri, serving in the Territorial Legislature and as a director of the Bank of St. Louis.

ATTENTION EMIGRANTS!¹⁰

NEWS FROM ELDORADO

S. R. Dyer, is just receiving his Stock of California Goods which is general in variety, and replete with every article to add to the convenience and comfort of California Emigrants. Out of this stock a man can get what he wants, and not a substitute for it. To say that I will well cheaper than any of my competitors is to use too common a phrase with Venders of merchandise. But this much I will say that no one can undersell S. R. Dyer. Call and see, one and all. Amongst this very general and extensive stock of Goods, The Following compose a part of the leading articles:

10 pieces Cassinette,	Tenting, Osnaburg,
5 do. Sheeps Gray,	Cot. & linen canvass
4 do Prince Al. Cord	Patapsco shirtings,
2 do Fustain,	Ga. & La. Cottings
2 do Corderoy,	Hickory shirtings
25 pair Blankets	Checks flannels &c

Also,

A very general assortment *Gum ber rubber* Goods, to wit: Coats, pants, caps, leggins &c. &c.

Also,

A complete assortment of Hardware from a Frying pan to a four-horse wagon, interlarded with suitable notions, such as guns, Pistols, Dirks and Bowie Knives.

S. R. DYER.

feb 22.

From the *Missouri Telegraph*, Fulton, April 5, 1850.

¹⁰This advertisement gives some indication of what the California emigrants took with them on their overland journey. Although it is not generally known, the Boone's Lick Trail, on which Fulton was located, was one of the important routes used by the emigrants in crossing Missouri. In but one day during May, 1850, in Montgomery county, there was counted 142 wagons passing, or an average of about one every five minutes. Farmers along the trail sold feed and supplies to the emigrants, and merchants in towns along the trail advertised goods that would appeal to the gold seekers.

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT
FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE HARBOR OF ST. LOUIS.¹¹

St. Louis, Dec. 27th, 1837.

Proposals will be received by Henry Kayser Esq., No. 44 corner of Second and Laurel streets until the 15th of February, 1838, for delivering in the Harbor of St. Louis 2000 Piles of the following dimensions, viz.

800 Piles from 20 to 25 feet long,

800 do from 25 to 30 feet long,

400 do from 30 to 35 feet long,

The whole must be of Oak, Hickory or Black walnut, sound and straight, well trimmed and not less than 8 inches diameter at the small end.

They will be let in parcels to suit bidders.

The deliveries to be made during the course of the spring and summer of 1838, at times notified by the undersigned 4 weeks previous, and at such places as may be designated either on Bloody Island or the opposite Illinois shore.

Bidders not known at this Office will give references of their ability to fill the contracts they offer for.

Each bid will be endorsed, "Proposals for furnishing Piles."

R. E. LEE, Lt. Engrs.

From the *Missouri Argus*, St. Louis, Jan. 13, 1838.

¹¹By 1832 the harbor of St. Louis was seriously endangered by the encroachments of Bloody Island and Duncan Island, which threatened to fill the river channel near the city and divert the main waters of the Mississippi to the Illinois side. In 1836 Congress appropriated money to improve the St. Louis harbor and the "R. E. Lee, Lt. Engrs.", whose name appears at the bottom of this advertisement, was placed in charge of the work. This Lieut. Lee was the Robert E. Lee who later became famous for service in the Mexican war and served as commander in chief of the Confederate armies. Lieut. Lee came to St. Louis in August, 1837, and in two years had turned the main channel of the Mississippi back to the Missouri shore. The work started by Lee was not finally completed until 1856. The Henry Kayser mentioned in this advertisement was trained in the St. Louis harbor work by Lee, and for many years was employed as city engineer of St. Louis.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

IN MEMORIAM—WILLIAM AUSTIN KELSEO

BY IRVING DILLIARD, ST. LOUIS

St. Louis newspaperdom lost its dean and as tireless a worker as it ever had when William Austin Kelsoe died of pneumonia, March 9, in the Deaconess Hospital, St. Louis, at the age of 81 years. A lifelong newspaperman, one of his first assignments was the dedication of Eads Bridge, July 4, 1874. During the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904, he was in charge of the press bureau which functioned as a clearing house for the newspapermen and writers from all parts of the world who visited the fair. Until four days before his death, he was active in his duties as exchange editor of the *Post-Dispatch*, on which he had served for 25 years.

Born February 1, 1851, in Greenville, Illinois, the son of Alexander Kelsoe, a native of Tennessee, and his wife, Elizabeth (Watkins) Kelsoe, both of whom had been school teachers, W. A. Kelsoe was educated at McKendree College, Lebanon, Illinois. He was graduated from that institution in 1872, and then went to Heidelberg, in Germany, where he studied under several of the outstanding scholars of the time, including Bluntschli, the authority on international law.

His first newspaper work was done under the editorial direction of Walter B. Stevens on the *Evening Dispatch*, later bought by Joseph Pulitzer and merged with the *Post*. Working in turn on the *Morning Times*, the *Times-Journal*, the *Republican* and the *Globe-Democrat*, on the latter two as city and assistant city editor, respectively, he was also one of the earliest sport writers in St. Louis. In 1896 he reported the famous Democratic convention of that year. One of his successful newspaper campaigns was that which resulted in the establishment of "owl" cars run for the benefit of morning newspaper men and others whose work took them out after regular car service had stopped for the night.

Among the newspapermen, editors and authors with whom Mr. Kelsoe was associated in earlier times were Joseph

Pulitzer, Joseph B. McCullagh, William Marion Reedy, William Hyde, Eugene Field, and his brother, Roswell M. Field, Jr., Stilson Hutchins, Charles W. Knapp, Henry King, William Vincent Byars and Emory S. Foster. Much that he remembered about them and other personages of St. Louis was faithfully set down in his book, "St. Louis Reference Record, for Newspaper Libraries and Families," which he published in 1928, a truly valuable store of miscellaneous information about St. Louis.

His wife, whom he married in 1877 and who died in 1920, was Frida Hillgaertner, daughter of Dr. George Hillgaertner, editor of the Chicago *Staats Zeitung*. Their one son, Stephen, survived his father.

Mr. Kelsoe's funeral was the occasion for a gathering of St. Louis newspapermen ranging from veterans to cub reporters. George S. Johns, with whom he was associated on the *Post-Dispatch*, who introduced the speaker, Dr. Cameron Harmon, president of McKendree College, said Mr. Kelsoe was as conscientious, industrious and gentlemanly as any newspaperman he ever knew. Mr. Kelsoe's body was cremated and the ashes placed in a niche in the Valhalla Crematory, St. Louis county.

EUGENE FIELD'S ST. LOUIS NEWSPAPER WORK

BY W. A. KELSEO

Several months ago (early last year, I think) the *Review* printed a letter from Robt. P. Thompson denying that Eugene Field had ever worked on the St. Louis *Times* of the seventies. It all depends on whether the *Times* was still the *Times* after the *Journal* went out of business late in 1878 and some of its editors and reporters, as well as Hume and Woolcott, the managers, joined the *Times* staff in the Times building and the name "Journal" was added to the original name of the paper founded by Stilson Hutchins and a couple of his friends in 1866. When Col. Cundiff bought the paper late in 1879, he dropped the name "Journal" and it then continued to be called the St. Louis *Times* till the paper was sold by him, Col. J. H. R. Cundiff, to the *Missouri Republican* near the close of

1880, when the Cundiff paper ended its existence. Many years later William Vincent Byars collected a great many of Eugene Field's poems printed in St. Louis papers in the seventies and used some of them in newspaper articles published in the *Globe-Democrat* and a Kansas City paper. Most of those poems were first printed in the *Times-Journal* in 1879. Field worked several years (off and on) on the St. Louis *Journal* before the paper was merged with the *Times*.

The Thompson letter published in the *Review* left the uninformed reader under the impression that Field's St. Louis newspaper work was ended when the St. Louis *Journal* was merged with the *Times*. Stilson Hutchins said in a letter to me under date of November 18, 1905, which can be found on page 38 of my *St. Louis Reference Record*, "Eugene Field was on the *Times* for a while but I don't think Roswell ever was." Whether he was or not before Mr. Hutchins left St. Louis in 1877, both Eugene Field and his brother Roswell were on the paper the following year when it was first published as the *Times-Journal*. Walter B. Stevens, for four years its city editor prior to the merging, continued in that position during the year the Field boys were with the paper and up to the time of its sale by Col. Cundiff to the *Missouri Republican*, in December, 1880. Mr. Byars and I were reporters under Stevens, and Eugene Field was one of Managing Editor Hume's assistants in the editorial room across the hall.

(Editor's Note: This contribution was submitted by Mr. Kelsoe several months before his death.)

THE OLDEST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH WITH A CONTINUOUS
EXISTENCE WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

BY REV. WM. J. GAMMON, JACKSON, MISSOURI

It is evident that there has been confusion for some years regarding the "oldest Presbyterian church with continuous existence west of the Mississippi river." In presenting data on this subject, there is no purpose whatever to exalt any church or branch thereof above another, but to prevent misunderstanding by presenting and inviting impartial historical truths. Two essential conditions must be met, before

any church may claim this honor: first, it must have been⁷ organized earlier than any other Presbyterian church within the territory mentioned; second, it must have maintained a continuous existence since its organization. Let the facts of secular and church history speak on these two essentials.

First, as to the date of organization: the *History of Southeast Missouri*, published by the Goodspeed Company in 1888, page 556, says, "The first Presbyterian society was organized in Bellevue settlement in Washington county, August 2, 1816; the second was Bonhomme in St. Louis county, October 16, 1816; and the third was the First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, November 23, 1817." The above date of organization and the recognition of Bellevue Church (first named Concord) as the oldest Presbyterian church west of the Mississippi are fully confirmed, by language almost identical (ideas completely identical) with the above quotation in *Presbyterianism in Missouri*, by John B. Hill, page 4; *Historical Outlines of the Presbyterian Church in Missouri*, by Rev. Timothy Hill, page 6; *The History of Missouri*, by Louis Houck, Vol. 3, page 228, using twice "the first Presbyterian church west of the Mississippi"; the *History of Southeast Missouri*, by Robert S. Douglass, Vol. 1, page 488; minutes of Presbyteries, historical sermons, and an article in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of August 21, 1927.

Second, consider the above and other sources of information as to the continuous existence of Bellevue church (first called Concord) since 1816. The *History of Southeast Missouri* (1912), by Douglass, in an article on Presbyterianism, Vol. 1, page 488, says: "It is the oldest church in the State." Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. 3, page 229, says: "On September 7, 1817, Rev. Thomas Donnel took charge of Bellevue church and remained there for more than twenty-five years," assuring continuous existence from 1816 to 1842. The Sessional Records of Bellevue church, Book No. 2, page 146, April 11, 1880, give the following: "Whereas, Miss Jane Thompson has been an earnest worker in this church for forty-nine years . . .," assuring beyond contradiction continuous existence from 1831 to 1880. Several living members of Bellevue church know of its continuous existence since 1880. But in

addition, Book No. 3, page 106, of the Sessional Records, says: "Mr. E. A. Sloan united with the Presbyterian church in Caledonia, October 19th, 1862 . . . , and remained an honored elder until his death, Feb. 22nd, 1901." Here are two historical sermons, one by a stated supply of this church for nine years, the first showing continuous existence down to 1877, the other down to 1916. An article of the *Globe-Democrat* of August 21, 1927, by Robertus Love, a member of the *Globe's* staff and son of a Presbyterian minister, says: "Bellevue congregation at Caledonia, Missouri, has been continuous since August 3d, 1816." The *Minutes of the Presbyteries of Missouri*, St. Louis and Potosi, refer to the minister, the elders, and Sessional Records of this church from 1820 down to the present so often and in such manner as to make anything except continuous existence of this church utterly impossible. The first Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, Missouri, has, on several occasions, through daily papers and other publications stated that it is the oldest Presbyterian Church with continuous existence west of the Mississippi river. If anyone connected with that church, or if any person has, or knows of, reliable impartial, historical data to establish their claim for the first church of St. Louis, or for any other than Bellevue, and thereby show that the above claim for Bellevue is in error, such persons are requested and most earnestly urged to present such data and establish their claim. If such data cannot be offered to support the claim, would it not promote a more cordial fellowship and understanding and be better for all concerned to cease to publish such claim until supported as suggested?

GRADUATE THESES RELATING TO MISSOURI

A dissertation accepted in partial fulfillment of the degree of doctor of philosophy by Massachusetts State College, Amherst, Mass., was *A Study of Movements of Population in Missouri*. The author is E. L. Morgan, chairman of the department of rural sociology of the University of Missouri.—From the *Columbia Missourian*, July 5, 1932.

A dissertation accepted by the University of Missouri for the partial fulfillment of the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1932 is as follows:

Emberson, Frances Guthrie: *The Vocabulary of Samuel L. Clemens from 1852 to 1884.*

The following masters' theses were also accepted:

Connor, James Edward: *Special Page and Special Edition Advertising and Its Effect on Newspaper Linage and Retail Sales.* (Based in part on the *Columbia Missourian*.)

Farmer, Russell: *The Conodonts of the Chouteau Limestone.*

Garrison, Milton: *Township Government in Missouri.*

Lindsay, Jane: *Merchandising the College Town; Columbia, Missouri.*

Lowery, Edward Clyde: *Public Improvements in Missouri, 1820-1850.*

Nelson, Earl J.: *The Passing of Slavery in Missouri.*

Perry, Trusten Edwin: *The Conodonts of the Snyder Creek Shale.* (Principally in Callaway county.)

Sparlin, Estal Earnest: *The Jefferson Inquirer.*

Steele, Francis Marion: *The Accuracy and Flexibility of Farm Real Estate Assessment in Missouri.*

Woods, Emma Orr: *A Vocabulary Study of Tom Sawyer.*

The following doctors' dissertations on Missouri subjects were accepted by St. Louis University Graduate School during the school year of 1931-32:

Gallagher, Ralph Aloysius: *Subjective Factors of Delinquent Conduct; An Adaptation of the Interview Method to the Diagnosis and Rehabilitation of Delinquent Boys.* (Based largely on cases in Missouri.)

Hamilton, Raphael Noteware: *A Cartography of the Missouri Valley Prior to the Establishment of "La Compagnie D'Occident," 1717.*

Mallon, Wilfred Michael: *The Jesuit College; An Investigation Into Factors Affecting the Educational Efficiency of the Jesuit Colleges in the Central States.* (Including an investigation of the College of Arts and Sciences of St. Louis University.)

Masters' theses accepted by St. Louis University were as follows:

Blakely, Sister Mary De Chantal: *Mother Mary Odilia and the Sisters of St. Mary of the Third Order of St. Francis.*

(Concerning a nursing order which conducts hospitals in Missouri.)

Kohnen, Sister Mary Loyola: *A History of St. Elizabeth Academy, St. Louis, Missouri, 1882-1932.*

Markle, Sister Mary Winfried: *Mother Mary Bonaventure (Eva Wagner) of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, 1835-1908.* (Concerning a teaching order which conducts schools in Missouri.)

Rothman, Harriet Lillian: *A Study of the Homogeneity of Ability-Groups in the Grover Cleveland High School of St. Louis, Missouri.*

ANNIVERSARIES

The 109th anniversary of Big Shoal Baptist Church, eight miles west of Liberty, was celebrated May 22, 1932. A historical sketch of the church, written by Cosby Shafer, appears in the *Liberty Tribune*, May 19, 1932.

The 100th anniversary of the Farmington Presbyterian Church was celebrated May 29, 1932. A feature of the program was a historical sketch of the church, by Mr. J. P. Cayce. This address is reprinted in the *Farmington News* of June 3, 1932.

The centennial anniversary of High Point Baptist Church, located nineteen miles southeast of Warrensburg, Missouri, was celebrated June 19, 1932. A lengthy historical sketch of the church, written by Mrs. T. L. Cooper, appears in the *Warrensburg Star-Journal* of June 21, 1932.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of St. Mary's Episcopal Church, in Kansas City, is to be celebrated next fall. It was first known as St. Luke's Church. A historical sketch of the church appears in the *Kansas City Star*, July 2, 1932.

The Central Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, was organized seventy-five years ago, according to the *Kansas City Star*, May 18, 1932, and the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of May 21, 1932.

The fiftieth anniversary of the removal of the Baptist Church, now at Adrian, from Crescent Hill, will be celebrated June 5, 1932, according to the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, June 3, 1932. It was organized in 1857 at Crescent Hill, a town now forgotten.

The 100th anniversary of Watt's Mill, near Dallas, Missouri, was celebrated June 12, 1932, according to the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of that date, which recounts the history of the mill.

The fortieth anniversary edition of the *Marshfield Mail* was published June 30, 1932. It contains much of biographical and historical interest.

MEMORIALS

The dedication of an elm tree on the State Fair grounds at Sedalia by Missouri War Mothers and other patriotic societies is planned for August 22 as a memorial to Missouri soldiers.—From the *Kansas City Star*, July 17, 1932.

Plans are under way, sponsored by the mayor of Albany, county seat of Gentry county, to construct a white-way system around the courthouse square, as a memorial to the thirty-three Gentry county boys who gave their lives in the World war. The idea is to dedicate one standard and its light to each veteran who lost his life in the war, and to have a bronze plaque on the standard, giving the names of those contributing to each individual memorial.—From the *Jefferson City Missouri Magazine*, June, 1932.

Bronze markers were placed on the graves of six daughters of Richard Simms, Revolutionary soldier, in the Simms family cemetery, seven miles north of Liberty, by the Daughters of the American Revolution.—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, July 21, 1932.

A memorial hospital erected in memory of the late Samuel Caldwell Stayton by his widow, Mrs. Lena E. Stayton, at Butler, Missouri, was formally dedicated July 30, 1932.—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, July 31, 1932.

A marker at the grave of Daniel Munro, Sr., in Clark's Chapel Cemetery near New Franklin, was dedicated by the D. A. R., July 17, 1932. Mr. Munro was a soldier in the Revolution.—From the *Boonville Daily News*, July 18, 1932.

The tombstone that originally marked the grave of James Bridger, famous frontiersman, has been purchased with a view to having it set up on the campus of Westport High School, Kansas City. Bridger died in 1881 and was buried near Dallas, Missouri. Later his remains were moved to Mount Washington Cemetery, and the original tombstone was left behind. A plate bearing Bridger's name and an appropriate inscription will be attached to the stone.—From the *Kansas City Westport Crier*, May 4, 1932.

NOTES

A \$1 scrip issued by the City of Kansas in 1870 was presented for redemption July 21, 1932, according to the *Kansas City Times* of July 22, 1932.

The State Department of Education is having prepared a syllabus for Missouri history, and the course is being recommended very extensively for first class high schools this year.

The first medal, authorized by the last Legislature, for conspicuous service to the State in private life has been awarded to Dr. Malcolm A. Bliss of St. Louis. The presentation was made by Gov. Caulfield in the State senate chamber. Dr. Bliss is a member of the State eleemosynary board and for several years was president of the Missouri Mental Hygiene Society, of which he is now honorary president. He was one of the organizers of the Missouri Occupational Therapy Society, the Child Guidance Clinic in St. Louis and the St.

Louis Training School for the Feeble-Minded. He is a member of the International Congress on Mental Hygiene, and holds offices in the American Medical Association and the American Psychiatric Association. At present he is engaged in a study of food values in the treatment of mental diseases in State hospitals.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 25, 1932.

The 105-year-old Arsenal at St. Louis is being restored and a suitable museum is being organized by Col. Mathew A. Reasoner, the present commandant, according to the *Jefferson City Missouri Magazine* of May, 1932.

Jay L. B. Taylor, of Joplin, who for many years has been active in exploring Ozark hills and caves, seeking relics and formations which have bearing on the early history of this area, is leading a movement looking toward enactment of legislation to protect caves and formations from amateur excavators.—From the *Kansas City Times*, July 25, 1932.

Col. William P. Hall, 68, died at his home in Lancaster, Missouri, June 29, 1932. He was widely known as a pioneer exporter of Missouri mules and horses, and as a circus owner.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 1, 1932.

The log cabin built in 1812 by Joseph Stokely in Wayne county has been restored by its present owner, Mr. Lon Sanders, according to an article in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat Magazine*, June 5, 1932.

Two steamboats, the "Judith" and the "General Meade," which sank in the Missouri river in 1888, have been removed by dynamite, by the U. S. Army Engineers working on the river channel.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 31, 1932.

Missouri's watercourses are outstanding, for there are 634 charted streams with a total length of 15,327 miles, exclusive of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. Uncharted

streams bring the total water mileage in the state close to 20,000 miles.—From the Jefferson City *Missouri Magazine*, May, 1932.

An Indian mound at Arrow Rock, containing the charred remains of four bodies believed to have been burned in the pit in which they were found, was excavated May 30 by Messrs. Lynn Shepherd, C. G. Page and Jack Long. The mound covered about thirty square feet, and within it at a depth of three feet was found a stonewalled pit which contained the bodies.—From the Marshall *Democrat-News*, June 7, 1932.

Two Indian mounds discovered near Springfield and opened recently disclosed a painted skull, many implements, and seven skeletons. Rev. S. P. Newberry, of Springfield, is carefully preserving the contents of the mounds for scientific study.—From the Springfield *News and Leader*, April 17, 1932.

An account of the formal opening of the six-foot channel of the Missouri river, with considerable historical data concerning river traffic, appears in the Kansas City *Journal-Post*, June 26, 1932.

A lengthy historical sketch of Marion City, the town made famous by Charles Dickens in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, written by Alfred J. Fisher, appears in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of May 18, 1932.

A compilation of special historical and genealogical interest is that of the cemetery records of Richmond, published as Chapter 134 in a series on Ray county, by the Richmond *Missourian* of July 28, 1932. These records were gathered in 1915, and include data on persons who died prior to 1875, those who lived to be as old as 75 years, and persons who played some part in local history. Similar data is to appear as subsequent "Ray County Chapters."

The 1932 *Bwana*, annual of Roosevelt High School, St. Louis, is dedicated to "Ol' Man River," and contains many

articles of historical interest concerning the Mississippi, especially in its relation to St. Louis.

A special edition of the *Daily Capital News* and the *Post-Tribune*, of Jefferson City, on June 5, 1932, contains many articles of historical interest.

An account of the life and works of Frank H. Wielandy, entitled "The Father of Missouri's State Park System," appears in the *Ozark Life Outdoors*, for June, 1932, published at Barnett, Missouri.

A historical sketch of the St. Louis *Star* and the St. Louis *Times* appears in the *St. Louis Star*, June 23, 1932, at the time of the purchase of the latter by the former.

A historical sketch of the Mathews Tavern, built in 1855 at Cogswell's Landing on the Missouri river in Jackson county, appears in the *Kansas City Star*, June 26, 1932.

A history of the log cabin erected more than 100 years ago in St. Louis county by Samuel Stuart is given in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat Magazine*, June 26, 1932.

An account of the Boisseau family in America, beginning with Rev. James Boisseau who came from Marennes, France, about 1688, and continuing to O. G. Boisseau, Johnson county historian, appears in the Warrensburg *Daily Star-Journal* of June 17, 1932.

"The Legend of Knob Noster" by A. E. Collins, in the July, 1932, issue of *Arcadian Magazine*, published at Eminence, furnishes an interesting account of the region near the town of Knob Noster, Missouri.

A historical sketch of Kansas City's park system, visualized in the '80s by the late William R. Nelson, publisher, and the late George E. Kessler, landscape architect, is given

in the Kansas City *Star* of July 15 and the Kansas City *Times* of July 16, 1932.

"Not a Commissioned Officer," by James E. Payne, of Dallas, Texas, in the June, 1932, issue of the *Confederate Veteran*, of Nashville, Tennessee, presents evidence showing that William Quantrill was not an officer of the Confederate army.

"The St. Louis Turnverein Played a Major Part in Saving Missouri for the Union," an article in the St. Louis *Star and Times* of July 29, 1932, presents some interesting history of this society.

The first drainage ditch to be excavated in southeast Missouri was dug thirty years ago by J. E. Franklin, of St. Louis. The great ditch drained Cagel Lake, the largest of a chain of lakes that once covered Pemiscot county.—From the Jefferson City *Missouri Magazine*, June, 1932.

A historical sketch of Malden, its pioneers, and its obscure "pole road" which evolved into the Little River Valley & Arkansas Railroad, was written for the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, by George M. Moreland, and was reprinted in the Poplar Bluff *American Republic*, July 15, 1932.

A brief description of the articles of archaeological interest found in several Ozarks caves by officials of the Smithsonian Institution is given in the Kansas City *Star*, July 31, 1932.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

A much-needed biographical sketch of Major Amos Stoddard, who, at St. Louis in 1804, acted as commissioner of France and the United States when Upper Louisiana was transferred from Spain, and who was first civil commandant of what is now Missouri, is supplied by Wilfred Hibbert's article on "Major Amos Stoddard, First Governor of Upper Louisiana and Hero of Fort Meigs." The biographical

sketch appears in the quarterly bulletin of The Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, Vol. 2, No. 2, April, 1930.

The article briefly traces the genealogy of the Stoddard family and then tells Amos Stoddard's history from his birth in Connecticut, through the Revolution, Shays' Rebellion, services in the Louisiana country and elsewhere, and finally at Fort Meigs (Ohio), where he died on May 11, 1813, following an attack on the Fort by the British.

The work of the author is largely accurate, but a few errors have been made. On page 6, the author writes that Meriwether Lewis was in the party that came to St. Louis for the transfer of Upper Louisiana, and the *following* year made his famous expedition with William Clark: the Lewis and Clark expedition set out from St. Louis the same year of the transfer, 1804. The name of Don Carlos DeHault DeLassus is misspelled on page 6. The author writes (page 11) that Col. John L. Miller, who also commanded troops at the siege of Fort Meigs and later became governor of Missouri, served for four years as governor from 1828: Governor Miller served seven years as governor of Missouri, from 1826 to 1832, a period longer than any other Missouri governor.

A bibliography, containing many suggestive sources of information on Amos Stoddard, though by no means complete, is an important part of the biographical sketch. The article covers eleven pages of small type.

In their recent book on the life of Thomas Fitzpatrick, LeRoy R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent have brought from comparative obscurity the man who was one of the outstanding figures of the western fur trade. In addition, they have given an authentic review of Western life for the period in which Fitzpatrick was a leader, from the 1820's to the 1850's. The book is figuratively entitled *Broken Hand; The Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men*. (The Old West Publishing Company, Denver, 1931.)

Beginning with Ashley's expedition in 1823, Fitzpatrick was identified with the fur trade and western events until his death in 1854. Above the average in education, this native

of Ireland attained leadership and knowledge of the west unsurpassed by his contemporaries, Bridger and Carson. With the party under Jedediah Smith, Fitzpatrick is credited with discovering in 1824 the South Pass that opened the trail to Oregon. He became a partner in the noted Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and later an employee of the American Fur Company. His name is intimately connected with travellers, explorers, soldiers and emigrants such as Whitman, De Smet, Bidwell, White, Fremont, Kearny, and Abert. His later years were spent as Indian agent for the plains tribes along the Arkansas and Upper Platte rivers.

Fitzpatrick's life, interwoven as it was with the fur trade and the frontier, could not help but be identified with Missouri. From St. Louis, in 1823, he started out on his western career. Senator Benton of Missouri was the one who recommended him as Indian agent for the plains tribes. His home was at Westport and his will was probated in St. Louis.

The book is a distinct contribution to Western history and biography. In the appendices, the authors have given a sketch of Fitzpatrick's protegee, Friday, the Arapaho; a newspaper article supporting Fitzpatrick as the discoverer of the South Pass; and the text of his will. A bibliography would have been valuable, but the work is well annotated, and contains a good index.

The main purpose of W. T. Carrington in writing his recent *History of Education in Missouri* has been to present some educational history that has not been published before. In this task, the author has been largely successful, particularly as regards the years during which he played such a leading part in Missouri education. The book contains 141 pages of text and was privately published in 1931.

As State Superintendent of Public Schools from 1899 to 1907, and as president of the Teachers College at Springfield from 1907 to 1918, Mr. Carrington has had excellent opportunity to view at first hand the development of the subject which has engaged his attention. Although suffering somewhat from brevity, the book presents valuable materials

not available when Claude A. Phillips wrote his *History of Education in Missouri* in 1911. In addition, Mr. Carrington's book presents some autobiographical material of value in the field of Missouri education.

The book is divided into two divisions, the first allotted by the author to "Abstract Treatment" and the second to "Concrete Treatment, Experiences and Observations." In the first division, the author discusses 57 "items of interest," briefly sketching the historical development of Missouri education. These items are followed by sections on courses of study, and teachers of Missouri schools, both of which sections seem particularly good. Other sections treat the subjects of school financing, the permanent school fund, the present cost of higher education, and furniture and equipment. Another section on school buildings, treating the subject from the crude log-cabin to the pioneer work in St. Louis of W. B. Ittner, building superintendent, is of particular interest.

The second division of the book is largely the personal story of the author. His own experiences are intermingled with the educational history of Missouri, with which he has been long identified. Here is recounted his early teaching experiences, his work as assistant to the State Superintendent, principal of the Springfield High School, State Superintendent of Public Schools, and his organization and direction of the Springfield Normal School.

A few errors, some of them typographical, have crept into the work. The name of the first schoolmaster at St. Louis, called by the author, "J. B. Tribeau," (pages 31, 43, and 52) is given by most writers as "Jean Baptiste Trudeau." The Missouri Constitution of "1821" (pages 1 and 34) should be "1820," and the Constitutional Convention of "1840" (page 1) should be "1845." The name of Governor Francis is misspelled on page 91. The date "1927" on page 36 should probably be "1827," and William Torrey Harris was United States Commissioner of Education until 1906, and not until 1909, the date of his death (page 24). The date of establishing the State University is usually given as 1839, instead of 1841 (page 5).

Mr. Carrington's book, though brief, adds considerable material to the history of Missouri education. It is particularly valuable as a record from first-hand observation. It is interesting to note that Mr. Carrington ranks Dr. Laws and Dr. Jesse as the two outstanding presidents of the University of Missouri.

Mary Holloway Carrington, As Her Husband Knew Her, has recently been published by William Thomas Carrington. (n. p., n. d.)

In this little book of 125 pages is told the life-story of the wife of William Thomas Carrington, former Missouri State Superintendent of Public Schools and president of the Teachers College at Springfield. The book is an intimate personal history, with some valuable autobiographical references.

In the second section of the book are given four family histories that should be of interest in the field of Missouri genealogy. The histories include sketches of the Holloway, Batterton, Carrington and Fisher families.

Biographical and general "Notes" by C. P. Cutten in the March, 1932, issue of the *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, include data on Jedediah S. Smith and Dr. Josiah Gregg, both of whom were identified with the early history of Missouri.

"The Founding of New Madrid, Missouri," by Max Savelle, in the June, 1932, issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, describes at length the negotiations between Colonel George Morgan and Spanish authorities in promoting the establishment of an American colony in Upper Louisiana.

"Some Official Aspects of the Fur Trade in the Northwest, 1815-1825," by Edgar B. Wesley, appears in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* of April, 1932.

"Victor J. Fourgeaud, M. D.: Second Physician and Surgeon in San Francisco, Writer of California's First Promotion Literature," an article by George D. Lyman, in the

Quarterly of the California Historical Society, June, 1932, concerns a man who lived in St. Louis during the early forties. He was connected with the St. Louis Hospital and St. Louis University, and was also editor of the St. Louis *Medical and Surgical Journal*. He emigrated to California in April, 1847.

A brief sketch of "Old" Bill Williams, "most massive and celebrated, yet most elusive and mysterious of all the pioneer mountain men of Arizona," by Frank C. Lockwood, appears in the *Arizona Historical Review* of July 1932. "Tradition has it that Bill Williams was a Methodist preacher at one time, that he came from Missouri as a missionary to the Osage Indians. . . . that he translated the Bible into various Indian tongues. . . ."

The 1930-31 report of the Illinois State Historical Society mentions the purchase by that Society of letters of General James Shields. They were written February 28, 1849, and January 29, 1864.

PERSONALS

JAMES J. BARRETT: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1870; died in St. Louis, Missouri, July 27, 1932. He was educated in the Benton School of Law at St. Louis, and had served in the General Assembly of Missouri. During the administration of Governor Major he was state labor commissioner. From 1916 to 1921 he was Federal Commissioner of Conciliation for the Federal Department of Labor for a district which included several states in the Mississippi valley.

PETER VINCENT BYRNE: Born in Ireland in 1846; died in St. Louis, Missouri, July 14, 1932. He came to the United States as a youth and was educated in Syracuse, N. Y., and Niagara University. In 1869 he was ordained to the priesthood in New Orleans. Subsequently he founded DePaul University in Chicago, then during 1893-96 was president of Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Missouri. He was also connected for a time with St. Vincent's College at Cape Girardeau and St. John's College at Brooklyn, N. Y. During

the past sixteen years he had been in Perryville, Missouri, where he was connected with St. Mary's Seminary. Burial was in Perryville, Missouri.

FRED W. COON: Born in Mercer county, Missouri, April 13, 1873; died in Kansas City, Missouri, May 29, 1932. He attended Avalon College, at Trenton, then taught school four years. In 1898 he was admitted to the bar and opened an office in Princeton, being elected to the probate bench the same year. In 1905 he moved to Kansas City, where he continued to practice until 1916, at which time he was elected judge of the north municipal court. In 1925 he was appointed by Governor Baker to the circuit bench, and he served until November 6, 1926, then returned to private practice. Burial was at Harris, Missouri.

ROBERT E. HICKS: Born near Novelty, Missouri, February 25, 1858; died in Florida, March 17, 1932. Following the Civil war the family moved to Kirksville, and in 1877 Mr. Hicks moved to Monticello and founded the *Lewis County Journal*. About two years later he sold the paper. In 1926 he established the *Specialty Salesman* in Chicago. He had only recently gone to Florida for his health.

SAMUEL D. HODGDON: Born in Summerfield, Illinois, May 20, 1868; died in St. Louis, Missouri, June 3, 1932. He came to St. Louis in 1883, and in 1886 moved to Texas for two years, then returned to St. Louis, becoming a stenographer in the general freight office of the Missouri Pacific Railway. Later he was connected with the Consolidated Coal Company, serving also as a member of the St. Louis Traffic Commission. On being graduated from the St. Louis Law School in 1895 he became assistant circuit attorney in St. Louis. Subsequently he was police judge, then city attorney of Webster Groves. In 1913 he was representative in the General Assembly of Missouri. He was one of the leaders of the movement for annexation of St. Louis county by the city in 1923. Also he was chairman of the commission that made the St. Charles bridge free of tolls recently.

CYRUS JEFFRIES KEPHART: Born in Clearfield county, Pennsylvania, February 23, 1852; died in Shelby, Nebraska, July 20, 1932. He was educated in Western College, in Iowa, and Union Seminary, Dayton, Ohio, and in 1879 was ordained a minister in the United Brethren Church. During 1878-1885 he was president of Avalon College, in Missouri, and from 1885 to 1887 taught mathematics in Western College. The two following years he held a pastorate in Des Moines. In 1889-90 he was president of Lebanon Valley College, afterwards returning to head Avalon College again. He held pastorates in Iowa from 1889 to 1905, then was president of Western (later Leander Clark) College in Toledo. During 1908-1913 he was a pastor in Dayton, then he was made bishop of the Church, May 14, 1913. He made his home in Kansas City for twelve years. He was author of several religious books.

RALPH S. LATSHAW: Born in Ontario, Canada, October 7, 1865; died in Kansas City, Missouri, May 19, 1932. He came to Kansas City with his parents when he was a year old, and was educated in the public schools there and at Georgetown College, in the District of Columbia. He began the practice of law in Kansas City, and shortly thereafter was appointed postmaster of Centropolis. In 1908 he was elected judge of the Jackson county criminal court, and held this position until January, 1923. In 1926 he was elected judge of the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit.

W. A. PORTER: Born in Johnson county, Missouri, March 23, 1862; died in Higginsville, Missouri, July 2, 1932. He received his education in the American Veterinary College of New York and the Medico Chirurgical College of Kansas City. He moved to Higginsville in 1908 and held several appointive and elective offices there, later being elected representative of Lafayette county for three terms.

WILLARD DUNCAN VANDIVER: Born in Hardy county, West Virginia, March 30, 1854; died in Columbia, Missouri, May 30, 1932. In 1858 the family moved to Missouri, and in 1877 he was graduated from Central College, at Fayette,

From 1877 to 1880 he was professor of natural sciences at Bellevue Institute and was then president of the Institute from 1880 to 1889. During 1893-97 he was president of the state normal school at Cape Girardeau. In 1897 he was elected to Congress, and served until 1905. During the gubernatorial campaign of 1904 he was campaign manager for Joseph W. Folk, the successful Democratic candidate. In 1905 he was appointed state insurance commissioner and afterwards became vice-president of the Central States Life Insurance Company, a position which he held until 1913. In that year he was appointed assistant United States treasurer at St. Louis, a post he held for seven years. Subsequently he retired to his dairy and horse farm near Columbia.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS IN 1837

From the St. Louis *Missouri Argus*, May 19, 1837.

The pecuniary distress is vastly exaggerated by Whig politicians to suit their own purposes. Unhappily, there is too much of it, but little in comparison to what they report. The distress is by no means general over the whole country, but principally felt at New York, Boston and Philadelphia, and at New Orleans and the southwestern states. The rest of the country is comparatively easy, but will not remain so if the attempt to get up the panic succeeds, and a run can be excited against all the banks.

To aggravate the evil in the Atlantic cities the fortification bills have been defeated by the Whig party in Congress now for *three years*, two bills being defeated by them at the last session, which deprives the northeast at this time, and when so many labourers are dismissed, of an expenditure of about three millions of dollars. Add to this the loss of the bill for anticipating the French and Neapolitan indemnities, which would have advanced to the merchants about three millions more, and which bill has been twice defeated by the Whigs in Congress. Thus, the conduct of the Whig party in Congress has deprived the very part of the Union which is now most in distress, of the use of full six millions of dollars!

IMMIGRATION DECREASING BY 1875

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, November 13, 1875.

Month after month confirms the fact of the marked decrease of immigration, which began soon after the panic, and for the first time since the current of immigration set this way, more than a quarter of a century ago, we are threatened with a total cessation of the movement. Indeed, it is not at all impossible that the returning emigrants may even now equal the incoming ones, and unless the times mend more rapidly than they give any indication of doing at present, our centennial year may be marked as the one in which our country failed to attract any addition to its population from foreign lands. Such a condition of things is not likely to last very long, although stranger things have happened than that the current of emigration should reverse its direction and carry from us more than it brings to us. . . .

While a great deal of gush and buncombe have been wasted over the immigrant, and while we have pathetically represented him as fleeing from oppression, bigotry and ignorance in the benighted land of his birth, and seeking the purer air of freedom in our young republic; while we have almost persuaded ourselves that we welcomed him purely for the sake of humanity, the truth is that we have wanted him chiefly, if not solely, to help us in

our mad struggle for wealth. We do not say that this has been the feeling of the American people, but this has undoubtedly been the motive of those who have put themselves forward as representatives of the American people. Especially is this true in the case of those states which have spent money in paying salaries of commissioners, and in printing puffs of their climate, resources, prospects, etc. They had no other motive but to fill up farm lands, to find customers and patrons for the railroads and the land-sharks—and voters for political exigencies. . . .

"BACK TO THE SOIL" IN 1879

Reprinted from the *St. Louis Republican* by the *Columbia Missouri Herald*, January 9, 1879.

One good effect of the protracted depression of manufacturing industry and trade that prevails is the direction of attention to farming as a means of livelihood. Just after the war, when inflated prices painted pictures of fortunes in all kinds of city and town vocations—when insurance and the agency business were supposed to yield wealth almost without limit, and when it was believed that fortunes could be made by merely organizing some sort of stock company and putting the shares on the market, there was a general flocking of young men from farms to cities and towns, to get rich without labor. But that delusion has ended in bitterness and disappointment to thousands all over the land, and proved that the game of living by the wits is one that very few can thrive at. We are beginning to realize that farming possesses one pre-eminent merit—it will yield a living if nothing more, and that is more than can be said of many city pursuits. It is generally esteemed a plodding, unromantic business; but this is offset by its exemption from the embarrassments and tragic features that too often mark the painful and exhausting struggle for the maintenance of credit and position in city life. It requires but a small capital to go to farming; there are farms in nearly every county in Missouri that can be bought, either for cash or on credit for \$6 to \$12 an acre. These offer a simple solution of the livelihood problem to all who are willing to work, and it is gratifying to find that the fact is beginning to be realized by many who are weary of prolonged idleness in cities.

EARLY DAYS IN ST. CHARLES

From the *St. Louis Enquirer*, Feb. 15, 1823.

. . . . In St. Charles, the seat of government for this state, considerable inconvenience at this early period had been felt from scarcity of wood for fuel, till a short time since by mere accident, the very bluffs on which the town is situated were discovered to contain vast quantities of stone coal, sufficient, it is presumed, to supply the town as long as time lasts with this article.

Already this advantage has produced a contrast in the appearance of St. Charles, from what it was a few months since, previous to this

discovery of nature. The streets are freed from screaming carts seeking a market for wood, and the emigrant from Pittsburgh is reminded of his native home; not from the smoke arising from the coal turning everything to a dark color which is not already so; but by the good wholesome smell it produces and the comfort enjoyed by its excellent fire. This coal is found to be of that quality which produces little or no smoke, and nothing ever so lily white is changed by its influence.

Scarcely anything could have been discovered, promising more advantage to St. Charles than this discovery, and it would seem that what has been anticipated concerning that place becoming an important one, will be realized. Like St. Louis, it has risen within a few years to its present improved condition from almost nothing. But the two places owe their rise to very different causes, and in future this must be the case, for it cannot be supposed that St. Charles will soon be a place of much commerce. Agriculture and manufactures are the greatest advantages towards wealth and prosperity possessed by that county.

The idea is strengthened by the opinion of many wise and skilfull men, that in every country nature has caused to flourish in spontaneous profusion, plants calculated for the diseases peculiar to its climate.

One mile from the village of St. Charles is the botanical garden of Doctor Millington, in which grows almost as many sorts of flowers as there are different colors, and roots as there are different tastes, which are converted into medicine. This gentleman from his farm and manufactory supplies the whole western country with the valuable medicine of castor oil, having left a surplus which is transported to New York and New Orleans, amounting yearly to several thousand dollars, which may be considered a complete saving to that county. The luxuriant appearance of the bean plant, its wide spreading leaf and large stalk, covering a field of forty or fifty acres, is not inferior in richness of appearance to the sugar cane of Louisiana.

EARLY GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN MISSOURI

Reprinted from the *Bowling Green Salt River Journal*, by the *Columbia Missouri Intelligencer*, Oct. 4, 1834.

In a short ride through the lower counties in the forks of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, and particularly in the counties of St. Charles and Warren, we observe that a new population consisting chiefly of German emigrants, are fast displacing the older settlers. In some large neighborhoods there remain but few of those who resided there a year or two ago. These newly arrived Germans appear to be best pleased with the rich alluvial soil of the Missouri bottom, and are willing to give any price for lands so that it is in that place and in the neighborhood of some who have been settled in the country for a number of years. We are informed by some of them that that river is the place of destination of nearly all of their countrymen upon leaving their native land, and that it has become

so by a publication made a few years since by a native German who sojourned a time on that river below Pinckney.

Many of these bring with them considerable wealth and are men of industry and enterprise; there are but few if any who appear familiar with our method of cultivation, or of the crop or culture best adapted to the country in which they have just settled. There are many also of them that are quite indigent. These generally have come in under the protection of the more wealthy, to whom they are bound for the payment of their expenses, but in many instances, upon their arrival they take their time into their own hands, and set up for themselves.

Among those of the higher order, both male and female, there are many possessing highly cultivated and well stored minds, and a degree of intelligence upon general subjects that would do credit to the same number of individuals from any country. We regard such as an acquisition to our community.

Thus far we believe great harmony has prevailed between them and their neighbors, the American citizens. There is, however, a degree of jealousy existing in the minds of many, arising from the peculiarity of their foreign manners and customs, which will disappear upon a more intimate acquaintance. We see one cause operating which will soon produce this result; that is their intermarriages with the Americans of which we are told there are several. We know of no legitimate objection to this amalgamation, and therefore wish it God speed.

LIBERTY AND WESTERN MISSOURI IN 1834

Reprinted from the *Liberty Enquirer*, by the *Columbia Missouri Intelligencer*, Oct. 4, 1834.

We have often thought of saying something about this portion of the "Far West" for the information of our friends abroad. But to give a correct and satisfactory account of the country and state of society, we have never felt ourselves adequate, and in fact we have always thought it most prudent in those who are desirous to emigrate to come and see for themselves. We, however, think it no harm to state a few facts in relation to the country and its inhabitants.

The tract of country embraced within the counties of Clay, Jackson, Lafayette and Ray possesses almost every requisite to insure a happy and prosperous location, and we do not say too much when we assert that this portion of the state holds out inducements which are rarely found in any country. A rich and fertile soil, productive of almost every vegetable congenial with the health or pleasing to the palate—abounding with good springs—a salubrious climate—a first-rate home market—are all advantages which cannot fail to recommend themselves to those who desire to better their condition by moving to a new country.

The state of society here in proportion to population, would not suffer any disparagement with any country. The inhabitants are principally Kentuckians, Tennesseans and Virginians, all of whom have brought

along with them their peculiar traits of character. Hence, it requires some time for a stranger to become acquainted with the various circles, but to insure an agreeable and pleasant association it is only necessary to conform to the old adage, "When in Rome do as Rome does." To this state of things some objection may be formed, but it is less real than imaginary. The mutual dependence of one upon another produces a compromising spirit, and this sectional feeling is lost sight of in the advancement of the general weal, by the selection of the best qualified men to fill the various offices, and by this means the information obtained in other countries becomes the common stock of all. In regard to general education, the citizens are no doubt alive to its importance. The difficulties with which the first settler had to contend are fast giving away, and the most of the neighborhoods have good English schools. Our eastern friends have but little idea of the rapid growth and improvement of the country. A gentleman of extensive travels, upon visiting this country, was utterly astonished at its general intelligence and appearance, and remarked, "That Missouri was now what she ought to be according to reasonable calculations, fifty years hence."

This county (Clay), as it regards wealth, intelligence, population, etc., ranks among the first counties in the state. Liberty, its county seat, is a flourishing little village, containing about five hundred inhabitants, nine dry goods stores, besides several groceries, one tanyard, a cotton carding and spinning factory, one wool carding factory, mechanic shops of almost every description, and in its vicinity one steam grist and sawmill, and situated about three miles from the Missouri. In the event of an extension of the boundary line, which is almost certain, we shall be in the center of one of the finest tracts of country upon earth.

PIONEER LIFE IN CLAY AND HARRISON COUNTIES

Extract from the diary of Mrs. W. H. Arnold, mother of Rev. C. F. D. Arnold, of Liberty, printed in the *Liberty Tribune*, June 23, 1932.

I was born in Lexington, Ky., June 14, 1832, and came with my parents, David O. and Sarah Brawner, in the autumn of 1835, to Clay county, Mo. As I was a small girl I went through all the privations of a new country as I grew up.

My father was a mechanic and had never farmed, but went into the heavy timber not far from the present town of Kearney, opened up a small field and made a crop of corn in the summer of 1836.

My schooling was limited to about three months each year, the teacher receiving about \$35 per month for teaching. After some seven or eight years the country was regularly districted and school houses were built. In the meantime I was sent to Liberty to school, but educational facilities were meager. My early training taught me not to wait for opportunities but to look for them; so, early in life, I learned to sew and to weave, and worked for those who were able to hire sewing, quilting and weaving done. I did not learn housework as that was done by slaves in the homes where

I labored. When I grew older I bought a loom and wove on it at home, as I could get weaving work, in slack times sewing with some girls in Liberty who taught me how to cut and fit clothing.

Thus I labored until my twenty-fourth year, when I was married to W. H. Arnold of Clay county. . . . We had no well or pond the first season in Harrison county, and part of the time had to haul water two miles.

We made our soap with scraps of meat and lye obtained by leaching our wood ashes put up in an ash hopper. We sheared wool from our sheep, had it carded into rolls which I spun and wove into cloth for winter clothes. From tow obtained by beating hanks of hemp until they were soft, I spun and wove cloth for summer clothes, sheets, table cloths and towels. I braided straw and made straw hats for summer, and made caps for winter, knit our gloves, socks and stockings from the homespun yarn, besides raising chickens, making butter and producing beans to sell at St. Joseph to get money with which to buy leather from which Mr. Arnold made the family boots and shoes. All the sewing I did in those days was done by hand—no sewing machines then, I never owned one until 1875. . . .

CENSUS OF 1810

From the St. Louis *Louisiana Gazette*, Jan. 16, 1811.

Through the politeness of the Executive we are enabled to lay before our readers a complete return of our population.

In this territory, the term district is substituted for county, as used in many of the states. The district of St. Louis is next to the upper or most northern in the territory, and when it is remembered that we form the extreme N. W. frontier of the Union, the following enumeration of domestic industry, &c. will be highly interesting to the friends of America.

<i>Districts.</i>	<i>Number of Souls.</i>
St. Charles.....	3,505
St. Louis.....	5,667
Ste. Genevieve.....	4,620
New Madrid.....	2,108
Cape Gerardeau [<i>sic</i>].....	3,888
Hopefield and St. Francis settlement.....	183
Arkansas [<i>sic</i>].....	874
Total.....	20,845

There are in the District of St. Louis:

- 9 water mills
- 6 saw mills
- 15 horse mills
- 12 distilleries
- 2 breweries
- 2 extensive shot towers, for manufacturing patent shot.
- 4 salt works.
- 380 looms and about 1,200 spinning wheels, &c. &c.

The actual population of Louisiana exceeds the number of the above Census, by more than 6 per cent. That deficit may be accounted for in the following manner, viz.:

1st. The law of the U. S. directs that the enumeration should be made of those persons only that were resident in the territory on the 1st Monday of August, 1810: since that period we have received a handsome increase, by emigration, which may be set down at one hundred families, of seven persons each.

2nd. We have many of our citizens absent on hunts, or down the river, &c.; for instance, there is with Mr. Henry, on the west side of the Rocky ridge, 140 men—for this item we may set down 250 persons.

3rd. The troops stationed in our territory were not enumerated, and they amount to more than 300 men, and 4th, from the scattered state of our population, extending from the Mississippi to 300 miles west of that river. Divided in small sections, or collections of families, in some cases so remote and recent that the civil officers have found it impossible to chase up each group of frontiersmen that are constantly passing off from the more settled to the extreme frontier of our country. Such as have recently formed the new settlements of Spring and Black rivers, which are on the west of Cape Girardeau District.

The foregoing considerations induce the opinion that the actual population of Louisiana is on this day at least 22,000 persons.

Our sister territory, Illinois, has but two counties, Randolph and St. Clair, containing by the late returns about 12,600 inhabitants, in detached settlements from the Ohio river to Prairie du Chein [*sic*], a space of nearly 800 miles.

NATHAN BOONE COMMISSIONED A CAPTAIN 1812

From the St. Louis *Louisiana Gazette*, May 16, 1812.

We are informed by Gov. Howard, that a commission has come on for Nathan Boone, as Captain of a company of Rangers, to be raised for 12 months, unless sooner discharged. Capt. Boone now commands a company of Rangers raised for three months, from the 3rd of March last, but the Gov. now intends to discharge such of the three months men as do not wish to join for the year, so soon as others can be got to supply their places. It is expected that a greater part of those gallant men now in

service under Capt. Boone will remain, some few perhaps will not be able to continue, who have families.

The Gov. has sent an express to Capt. Boone bearing his commission and with instructions to raise his company for the 12 months. Owing to the critical state of the frontier at this moment, the Governor has determined not to call Capt. Boone into the settlements for the purpose of recruiting, but has directed him to enroll such of his present company as are disposed to remain for the year, and to receive such as may go up to Fort Mason, properly equipt to join him. The Governor is now exerting himself to send on men to fill up the company as soon as possible. It is confidently expected that the military spirit now pervading in this territory will soon enable him to succeed in this important object. The terms upon which the company is to be raised are as follows, to wit: For 12 months, unless sooner discharged, the non-commissioned officers and privates will equip themselves with good rifles or muskets and side arms, and when in actual service will furnish their own provisions and clothing and provide themselves with horses and forage, if required. They will be allowed seventy-five cents per day when employed and serving on foot, and one dollar per day when mounted, which will be their compensation in full for rations, horses, forage and all other expenses.

JAMES MACKEY—TERRITORIAL PIONEER

From the *St. Louis Enquirer*, March 23, 1822.

Died on the 16th instant at his residence near the town of St. Louis, after a painful illness of a few days, James Mackey, Esq.

We trust that in offering a small tribute to the memory of this worthy citizen, we shall escape the charge of being impertinent or ridiculous—imputations that have well attached on divers obituary notices of late years. Mr. Mackey's life was one of considerable enterprize—about forty years ago he emigrated from Scotland, the country of his birth, to Canada; he there became engaged in the Indian fur trade, and had occasion to explore the region of the upper lakes, and the country as far west as the Rocky [sic] Mountains—after some years past in the perilous occupation, he transferred his domicile to upper Louisiana and availed himself of the protection which the Spanish government extended to foreign settlers. By that government he was employed to explore the country watered by the Missouri and its tributary rivers, a region almost without a civilized man. On his return from that expedition he made a report to the Spanish government, which met its fullest approbation. In remuneration of his services he received a grant of a large tract of land on the waters of the Missouri. When this grant was made the land was scarcely worth the expense of surveying, and from that moment to the present, the concession in consequence of the delay of confirmation, has not only been unproductive but has been a positive annual loss to Mr. Mackey. It is to be hoped that the justice which has been so long withheld from the father will not be denied to the mother and the orphan. The Spanish government testified

its sense of Mr. Mackey's merits, not only by this grant, but by investing him with different offices of importance, in all of which he was distinguished for his activity, intelligence, and disinterestedness. As military commandant of one of the subdivisions of Upper Louisiana, the duty devolved on him of providing for the settlement of a multitude of American emigrants, who were induced by the advantages which the government and country presented to establish themselves in Louisiana. There are many of them yet alive to bear witness to the kind and honorable manner in which Mr. Mackey conducted himself towards them. On the cession of Louisiana to the United States, he continued to co-operate with the constituted authorities until the second grade of government was organized and Upper Louisiana divided into districts—since that time he has served in the various capacities of Major of Militia, Judge of a District Court, and Representative in the Legislature, with credit to himself and advantage to his fellow citizens.

MISSOURI'S "FIRST ELEMENTARY BOOK"

From the *St. Louis Enquirer*, May 31, 1823.

By an advertisement in a subsequent column, it will be seen that a new work on Arithmetic, by Col. R. Paul, of this place, has just been issued from the press. As it is the first elementary book published in Missouri, we hail its appearance with feelings of the most lively satisfaction, and hope it may meet with a reception, at least equal to its merits, and that its ingenious author may be amply compensated for the pains he has taken to facilitate instruction. We believe the plan is entirely original—at all events it is materially different from any we have yet seen, and the work, in our opinion, is better calculated to impart to the mind of the pupil the rudiments of arithmetic than any heretofore in use. We feel, therefore, no hesitation in recommending it to the public, and in saying that in order to its general introduction in schools it is only necessary that it should be known. By the use of this arithmetic, the trouble and difficulty usually encountered by the teacher will be greatly lessened, and instruction imparted in a way that cannot be effaced—it places the student upon the threshold of mathematics—is the first link in the chain of that fascinating science, and excites in his mind an ardent desire to explore the depth of physical research and the unbounded field of analytical investigation.

A copy has been sent to several scientific gentlemen, and a candid expression of their opinions requested; among the answers already received we have selected three which we have thought proper to publish as commendatory of the work.

(The following advertisement appears in the same issue.)

Elements of Arithmetic, by R. Paul, is just published, and for sale at the book-store of Essex & Hough, St. Louis.

This work is recommended to the particular attention of teachers, as one eminently calculated to lessen their trouble, and to convey instruc-

tion in a way that cannot be forgotten. To those who would improve themselves in this useful branch of education it is also recommended—it will enable them to obtain instruction without the aid of a teacher, and give a more correct idea of the science than can be obtained by the study of any other work on the same subject.

(Editor's Note: Here follow three letters of recommendation from F. Niel, president of the St. Louis College, Justus Post, of Bonhomme, and B. Cousin, of St. Louis.

According to the article "Early Missouri Book and Pamphlet Imprints, 1808-1830," by Douglas C. McMurtrie, in the April, 1932, issue of *The American Book Collector*, this *Arithmetic* was printed by Ford & Orr, at the office of the St. Louis *Enquirer*. It was bound in printed gray board covers, and contained 160 pages of text, preceded by six pages of introduction. The volume sold for one dollar, or by the dozen for nine dollars.)

EMANCIPATION PROJECT IN 1827

From the Boonville *Central Missouri Republican*, Feb. 3, 1916.

If the plans of the leading Missouri statesmen of 1827 could have gone into effect there might not have been a Civil war, according to the story told by United States Senator John Wilson, who lived at Fayette for a number of years. According to Senator Wilson, Missouri was admitted as a Free State in 1821, but the question of slavery was a very pertinent question all through the early history of the state. In 1827, Senator Wilson, together with Thomas H. Benton, David Barton and some twenty or thirty other political leaders met in a secret meeting to consider "means of a gradual emancipation of the Negro in Missouri." A letter written by Senator Wilson from San Francisco, where he later made his home is as follows:

"In 1827 I was one of those who attended a private meeting of about twenty of us, claiming at least, to be party leaders, about equally representing every district of the state and equally representing the Democratic and Whig parties. Colonel Thomas H. Benton and Judge David Barton were present, though not on speaking terms. One object that brought us together was a consideration that we should get rid of slavery in Missouri. We unanimously determined to urge action upon all candidates at the approaching election. Resolutions were drawn up and printed in secret and distributed among us, with the agreement that on the same day these resolutions in the shape of memorials, were to be placed before the people all over the state, and both parties were to urge the people to sign them. Our combination then had the power to carry out our project.

"Unfortunately, however, before the day arrived, it was published in the newspapers generally that Arthur Tappan of New York had entertained at his private table some Negro men and that these Negroes had rode out in his private carriage with his daughters. Perhaps it was not true, but it was believed in Missouri and raised such a furore that we dared not and did not let our memorials see the light.

"As well as I can call to mind I am the only one to tell the tale. But for the story of the conduct of Arthur Tappan, we would have carried our project, and under the leadership of Barton and Benton we would have begun here in Missouri the emancipation of the Negro race that would long since have been followed by Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee and finally, I believe, over the whole South.

"Our purpose further, after we got such a law on the statute books, was to have followed it up with a provision requiring the masters of those who should be born of slave parents to be free [to set them free] and that they should be taught to read and write. This shows you how little a thing turns the destiny of nations."

(Editor's Note: H. A. Trexler, in his "Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865," identifies this as a letter written to Thomas Shackelford, January 13, 1866, and now preserved in the Missouri Historical Society, at St. Louis.)

TWO WATERS—AN INDIAN LEGEND

From the *Versailles Leader*, October 30, 1931.

Among the missionaries and explorers of New France, a century and a quarter ago, was one Father D'Arblay. He made notes of the persons and things that interested him. From these notes, written in barbarous Latin or the language D'Oc of southern France, this sketch is taken.

Long before a little fort was built as the beginning of St. Louis, Father D'Arblay started to explore the Osage river which he first called by the Indian name of Wild Water. Among the first white men he paddled his canoe over the waters of that turbulent stream. His story is as follows:

"After several days of very slow traveling, I was compelled to stop by a great rise of the river. I camped near the mouth of a large creek, which my guide called Bass Creek, on account of the large number of those fine fish in its waters. The back waters from the river made the surface of the creek as smooth as a lake and I was minded to ascend it for some distance, as I had been told that there was a large Indian village some leagues up the stream, and also I had heard of their chief, who seemed to be most famous.

"It took but a few hours to reach the place. The main village was just below the mouth of a little mountain-like stream called Leaping Water. Almost opposite another stream came down side by side with the main stream. This little stream is called the Little Water of the Big Perch. A high narrow ridge separates this stream from the larger one.

"My guide gave the name of this point of land as 'The Little Finger of the Great Spirit.'

(Explanation: Persons who have seen this ridge of land pointing like a finger to the east will recognize it as well as the Little Water of the Big Perch, now known by the prosaic name of Soap Creek. Leaping Water is now called Indian Creek, on account of the old Indian tradition that it was a tribal headquarters and because of the many Indian relics found near its mouth.)

"The Indians were very friendly but looked at me with awe for I was no doubt the first white man they had ever seen. As their chief was away and as they would hold no council with me unless he was there to speak for them, I returned to my camp. However, I was fortunate enough to get one of their old men to go with me for a few days as a guide. I had heard of a great spring not far from there and the old man knew the way to it.

"I saw the great spring and truly it is a great sight but I became so interested in my new guide's account of their chief that I determined to see him when I came back.

"My guide's name was Running Fox and this is the story he told me: 'I was a young man when the Great Flood came. For a long time the Great Spirit had been angry with us. There was no game. Our enemies took many scalps. Many died. Our chiefs were afraid. Our wise men were foolish. That year there was much snow in the cold moons and when the grass came, much rain. Each day the wild waters climbed higher on the hill sides. The Little Waters grew to be great waters. One night a few of us were camped on the Little Finger of the Great Spirit. A great storm came. The wind blew the great oaks over the grass, the thunder god made camp fires all over the sky. The rain tried to wash the great hills away. But the sun rose clear in the morning. When he shone on the place where our tepees had been I heard the cry of a newborn child. Its mother rose, she looked at the great water on one side and then at the great water on the other side. She pointed at the baby, "Two Waters," she said, and then the Great Spirit took her'."

The Indians believed that the baby, Two Waters, was sent by the Great Spirit on the wings of the storm.

The good Father and the wise chief became great friends. Page after page of his notes are filled with stories of the wisdom and brave deeds of Two Waters. Ever a friend to his pale face brother this great leader of his people spoke in the tribal councils with wonderful eloquence.

Two Waters was buried near the place where he was born, near the end of the Little Finger of the Great Spirit. They piled many stones on his grave which lies on the ridge between the two waters.

(Editor's Note: The locality described is near Gravois Mills, in Morgan county. The large spring Father D'Arblay visited was probably the one known now as Gravois Mill Spring, or Collins Spring, and is said to flow 5,700,000 gallons of water per day.)

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI AT JEFFERSON CITY

From the *Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, Sept. 8, 1859.

The engineers, Messrs. Patton and Frisbie, are busily engaged surveying and platting the grounds belonging to the University of Missouri, at the west end of the city. We understand the main building will be commenced this fall. A number of lots in the University addition have already been sold, and several buildings, we are informed, will be put up immedi-

ately after the completion of the survey. These grounds are immediately west of the city on a commanding elevation overlooking the city, river and railroad, and in full view of the State House. A more desirable place for private residences is not in this part of the State. The University, aside from the literary and educational advantages it will afford the people of the State and the west, will be an ornament to our city. The Primary Department of the University is now open under the superintendence of a competent and talented professor.

From the issue of September 15, 1859.

It will be truly gratifying to the friends of education to learn that the opening exercises of the Preparatory Department of the Missouri University, located in this city, took place on the 5th, in the M. E. Church.

President Thomas Williams, D. D., conducted the exercises. A few of the patrons of the school were present on the occasion. Although the number of pupils, as had been anticipated, is small, yet the teachers entered upon the work of education, to lay the foundation deep and wide, and lasting as eternity. The object is not only to make farmers, mechanics, lawyers or statesmen—governor's wives as [*sic*] presidents' wives, but to make men, to make women—to stamp upon their souls their Heaven-descended rights—to instill into their minds the importance of a thorough and practical education—to teach principles, not arbitrary rules.

The design is to make the school room a pleasant retreat, not "to creep snail-like unwillingly to school." To accomplish this, the government is parental in all respects, the prominent features of which are kindness and firmness.

From the issue of June 30, 1860.

The examination exercises of the Missouri University came off on the 14th and 15th ult., with great credit to the teacher and pupils. This institution has been in existence scarcely ten months, and yet, every step has been marked with progress. From four pupils only this institution has gone upward until there is now enrolled upon its records more than half a hundred, despite counter influences. Its present character has been attained under the judicious management and direction of Prof. L. L. Hartman (Dr. T. Williams, the president, being engaged for the present in the agency), in whose praise as an instructor we cannot say too much.

It is proper to say here, that though the examination of the first day was conducted principally by the professor himself, yet the visitors present, among whom were Dr. T. Mathews and others, had the opportunity of farther examination and criticism.

Two classes only were examined on the second day, one in algebra and another in Latin, conducted principally by the Rev. A. C. McDonald of St. Louis, and acquitted themselves well.

Then followed two neatly written essays by Miss L. Lee and Miss C. Hyatt, and an appropriate valedictory by Mr. Baker, after which the school was dismissed until 8 o'clock in the evening, to hear the anniversary address. At the hour appointed, a number of pupils, visitors and patrons met at the Tennessee House and were escorted by the Jefferson City Brass Band to the M. E. Church, which was soon filled by an interesting audience. After prayer, the address was delivered by the Rev. J. C. Smith and then followed the benediction by the Rev. Joseph Brooks of St. Louis. Thus closed the first commencement exercises of the Missouri University. . . .

(Editor's Note: Because of the similarity of names of this and the University of Missouri established in Columbia in 1839, this item will be of especial interest. It will be noted that the Jefferson City institution was co-educational, a step which had been taken by only a few schools by 1860.)

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